00036997

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 06 February, 2016

THE

HISTORY

OF

THE WESTERN EMPIRE;

FROM

ITS RESTORATION

BY

CHARLEMAGNE

TO

THE ACCESSION

OF

CHARLES V.

BY

SIR ROBERT COMYN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

36997

LONDON:

Wm. H. ALLEN & CO., LEADENHALL STREET; AND
W. N. WRIGHT, 60, PALL MALL.

MDCCCXLI.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

36997

00036997

LONDON : PRINTED BY W. NICOL, 60, PALL MALL.

CONTENTS.

VOL. II.

CHAPTER XXV.

REIGN OF WENCESLAUS; AND OF RUPERT.

A. D.		Page.
1378.	Wenceslaus, King of Germany	1
	Dissensions of the nobles with the imperial cities	2
1385.	League of the cities with the Swiss	ib.
1386.	Leopold II. Duke of Austria attacks the Swiss	3
	Battle of Sempach, Leopold defeated and slain	ib.
	Continuation of the Schism	4
1379.	Johanna, Queen of Naples, opposes Urban	6
1380.	She adopts Louis of Anjou	7
1381.	Charles of Durazzo invades Naples	ib.
1382.	Murder of Johanna	8
	Charles III. King of Naples	10
1385.	Rupture with Urban VI.	ib.
1386.	Charles, King of Hungary	11
	His murder	12
1389—1404.	Boniface IX. Pope	13
1394—1424.	Benedict XIII. Antipope	ib.
1394.	Wenceslaus imprisoned in Bohemia	14
1400.	Wenceslaus deposed	16
	Rupert, King of the Romans	ib.
1401.	Rupert defeated in Lombardy	17
1404—1406.	Innocent VII. Pope	18
1406—1415.	Gregory XII. Pope	19
1409.	Council of Pisa	20
1409—1410.	Alexander V.	21
1410—1415.	John XXIII. Pope	22

A. D. Page.
1410. Death of Rupert 23
1410. Josse, King of the Romans . . . . ib.
1411. His death . . . . . ib.
Sigismund, King of the Romans . . ib.
1419. Death of Wenceslaus . . . . ib.

CHAPTER XXVI.

REIGN OF SIGISMUND. COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE. HUSSITE WAR. COUNCIL OF BASLE.

1411. Sigismund, King of the Romans . . . 25
1413. Meeting of the Pope and King at Lodi . 26
1415—1418. Council of Constance . . . 27
1415. Degradation of John XXIII. . . . 28
Resignation of Gregory XII. . . . ib.
1416. Visit of Sigismund to France . . 29
And to England 30
1417. Savoy erected into a dutchy . . . ib.
Deposition of Benedict XIII. . . 31
Election of Martin V. . . . . ib.
1419. Martin arrives at Florence . . . ib.
1420. And at Rome 32
1424. Death of Benedict XIII. . . . ib.
1429. End of the Great Schism. . . . ib.
Effects of the Council of Constance . . 33
1415. Murder of John Huss 34
1416. And of Jerome of Prague . . . ib.
1419. Hussite war 35
1420. Victories of Ziska over Sigismund . . 36
1422. The Calixtines and Taborites . . ib.
1424. Death of Ziska . . . . ib.
Procopius Rasus . . . 37
1425. His ravages . . . . . ib.
1431. Death of Martin V. . . . . ib.
1431—1447. Eugenius IV. . . . . ib.
1431. Council of Basle . . . . ib

A. D.		Page.
	Expedition of Sigismund into Italy	38
1433.	Sigismund crowned Emperor	ib.
1436.	End of the Hussite war	39
1434.	Eugenius IV. driven out of Rome	ib.
1437.	Rupture of the Pope with the Council of Basle	40
	Death of Sigismund	ib.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GERMANY FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

	Germany	43
	Its boundaries	ib.
	The Emperor	46
	The three Estates	ib.
	I. The Electors	ib.
	Ecclesiastical	ib.
	And Lay	ib.
	1. Bohemia	47
	2. The County-Palatine	48
	3. Saxony	ib.
	4. Brandenburg	ib.
	II. The Princes	49
	Their privileges	51
	III. Imperial cities	52
	Rise and progress of the cities	ib.
	Their trade and commerce	53
	Their government	54
	Their increase	ib.
	Pfahlburgers and Ausburgers	55
1247.	League of the Rhine	56
1241.	League of the Hanse-towns	ib.
	The imperial cities admitted to the Diet	57
	The Diet	58
	The Clergy	60
	Their immunity	ib.
	Their jurisdiction	61

A. D.		Page.
	Papal encroachments	62
	Reservations and Expectatives	ib.
	Annates	64
	Inferior Nobles	66
	Knights	ib.
	Gentry	68
	Burgesses	69
	Freedmen (Freygelassenen)	ib.
	Slaves (Kneckte)	ib.
	Administration of Justice	71
1235.	The Imperial Court	72
	The Austrag	73
	The Imperial Chamber of Sigismund	ib.
	Anomalies and abuses in the Law	74
	Compurgation	75
	Ordeal	ib.
	Judicial Combat	ib.
	The Ban	76
	The Wehmic Court	ib.
	Military System	78
	Literature and Science	ib.
	Universities	80
	The Arts	83
	German manners	84
	Love of War	ib.
	And of the Chase	ib.
	Drunkenness	85
	Rudeness	ib.
	Private simplicity	86
	Public splendour	ib.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

REIGNS OF ALBERT II., AND FREDERIC III.

A. D.		Page.
1437.	Albert II. King of Hungary	88
1438.	Of the Romans	89
	And of Bohemia	ib.
	Council of Basle	ib.
	Of Ferrara	ib.
1439.	And of Florence	90
	Felix V. Antipope	91
	Death of Albert II.	ib.
1440.	Frederic III. King of the Romans	ib.
	Ladislaus Posthumus, King of Hungary	92
	And of Bohemia	93
1444.	Death of Uladislaus V.	ib.
1446.	Dispute between the Pope and Electors	ib.
1447.	Termination of the dispute	94
	Death of Eugenius IV	95
1447—1455.	Nicholas V.	ib.
1448.	Concordats of Aschaffenburg	ib.
1449.	End of the Schism	97
1452.	Expedition of Frederic into Italy	ib.
	Coronation of Frederic at Rome	98
	Ladislaus Posthumus consigned to the Austrians	99
1456.	The Turks besiege Belgrade	100
	The siege raised by Huniades	101
	His death	ib.
1457.	Execution of Ladislaus Corvinus	ib.
	Death of Ladislaus Posthumus	102
1458—1471.	George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia	ib.
1458—1490.	Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary	ib.
1455—1458.	Calixtus III.	ib.
1458—1464.	Pius II.	103
1461.	Diether, Elector of Mentz, deposed	105
	War with Albert VI. of Austria	106
1463.	Death of Albert VI.	ib.

A D.		Page.
1464—1471.	Paul II.	107
1468.	The Emperor visits Rome	ib.
1471.	Death of George Podiebrad	108
1471—1516.	Uladislaus [II.] King of Bohemia	109
1477.	Matthias invades Austria	ib.
1485.	Capture of Vienna	ib.
1486.	Maximilian elected King of the Romans	110
1490.	Uladislaus [VI.] King of Hungary	ib.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REIGN OF FREDERIC III. CONTINUED.

1461—1483.	Louis XI. King of France	111
1467—1477.	Charles, Duke of Burgundy	112
1474.	War with Charles, Duke of Burgundy	113
1475.	Peace	114
1477.	Death of Charles	ib.
1477.	Marriage of Maximilian of Austria with Mary of Burgundy	116
	War with Louis XI.	ib.
1479.	Battle of Guinegate	ib.
1482.	Death of Mary of Burgundy	ib.
	The Netherlands	ib.
	Wealth and turbulence of Flanders	117
1482.	Treaty of Arras	118
1483.	Charles VIII. King of France	119
	The Flemings oppose Maximilian	ib.
1487.	War between France and Bretainy	ib.
1488.	Insurrection of Bruges	121
	Maximilian imprisoned	ib.
	Maximilian released	122
	Frederic III. invades Flanders	ib.
	The Bretons defeated at St. Aubin	123
	Death of Francis II. Duke of Bretainy	ib.
1489.	Peace of Frankfort	124
1491.	Anne of Bretainy married to Maximilian	ib.

A. D. Page.
And to Charles VIII. King of France . . 125
1493. Peace of Senlis 126
Death of Frederic III. . . . 127
His character . . . . ib.
League of Swabia . . . 128
Division of the Diet . . . ib.

CHAPTER XXX.

REVIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY. THE PRINCES.

I. The Popedom . . . 131
1447—1455. Nicholas V. . . . . ib.
1455—1458. Calixtus III. . . . 133
1458—1464. Pius II. . . . . ib.
1464—1471. Paul II. 134
1471—1484. Sixtus IV. 136
The Papal States . . . . . ib.
II. Kingdom of Naples . . . 137
1386—1414. Ladislaus 138
1414—1435. Johanna II. 139
1415. She marries Jacques de la Marche . . ib.
Jacopo Sforza 140
Sergianni Caracciolo . . . 141
1420. Johanna adopts Alfonso V. King of Aragon . 142
1423. And Louis III. Duke of Anjou . . 143
1435. She bequeaths the kingdom to René, Duke of Anjou 144
1442. Conquest of Naples by Alfonso V. . . 145
1458—1494. Ferdinand I. . . . 147
1395. III. Dutchy of Milan . . 149
1395—1402. Gian-Galeazzo Visconte . . . ib.
1402—1412. Gian-Maria Visconte . . 150
1412—1447. Filippo-Maria Visconte . . 151
Carmagnuola 152
Francesco Sforza . . . 154
1447. End of the Visconti . . . 155
1450—1466. Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan . 157

A. D. Page.
1466—1476. Galeazzo-Maria Sforza . . 158
1476—1494. Gian-Galeazzo-Maria Sforza . . 159
IV. Marquisate of Mantua . . 160
The Gonzaghi . . . . ib.
V. The Dutchy of Ferrara . . . 161
1393—1441. Nicolò III. . . . . ib.
1441—1450. Lionello . . . . ib.
1450—1471. Borso . . . . ib.
1452. Duke of Modena . . . . ib.
1471. And of Ferrara . . . . ib.
1471—1505. Ercole I. 162
VI. Marquisate of Montferrat . . . ib.

CHAPTER XXXI.

REVIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY. THE REPUBLICS.

I. Genoa 163
1339. A Doge chosen 164
1353. Genoa surrendered to Milan . . . ib.
1396. And to France 165
1435. And again to Milan . . . . ib.
1442. Revolt . . . . ib.
1452. Again to France 166
1464. And again to Milan . . . . ib.
1478. Revolt 167
The Bank of St. George . . . 168
Naval exploits of Genoa . . . 169
1373. Conquest of Cyprus . . . 172
1378. War with Venice . . . ib.
1379. Battle of Chiozza . . . 173
Blockade of the Genoese Fleet . . . 174
1381. Peace of Turin 175
II. Venice 176
1389. Treviso regained . . . ib.
1404. Vicenza, Feltre, and Belluno acquired . ib.
1405. Verona 177
End of the Carrara 178

A. D.		Page.
1420.	Friuli acquired	178
1426.	Brescia	ib.
1428.	Bergamo	ib.
1441.	Ravenna	ib.
	Eastern possessions	ib.
1454.	Treaty with Mahomed II.	179
1463.	War with the Turk	ib.
1466.	The Venetians take Athens	181
1470.	Mahomed II. invades Greece	ib.
	Negropont taken	182
1473.	The Turks ravage Friuli	183
1478.	Capture of Croia	ib.
	Successful resistance of Scutari	ib.
1479.	Peace	ib.
	Government of Venice	185
	I. The Doge	ib.
	II. The Great Council	186
	III. The Senate	188
	IV. The College	ib.
	V. The Quarantie	189
	VI. The Council of Ten	ib.
	VII. The Inquisition of State	190
1423—1457.	Foscari, Doge of Venice	193
1457.	His deposition, and death	196
	III. Florence	197
1353.	Dissensions of the Ricci and Albizzi	ib.
1357.	The Ammoniti	ib.
1378.	Salvestro de' Medici, Gonfalonier	199
	Revolt of the Ciompi	201
1393.	Veri de' Medici	203
1360—1429.	Giovanni de' Medici	204
1389—1464.	Cosimo de' Medici	205
1416—1469.	Piero de' Medici	209
	IV. Pisa	211
	Surrendered to Florence	212
	V. Arezzo	ib.
	VI. Sienna	ib.
	VII. Pistoia	ib.
	VIII. Lucca	ib.

CHAPTER XXXII.

AFFAIRS OF ITALY FROM 1463 TO 1484.

A. D.		Page.
1448—1492.	Lorenzo de' Medici	214
1478.	Conspiracy of the Pazzi	218
	Giuliano de' Medici	220
	War of the Pope against Florence	224
1479.	Lodovico Sforza seizes Milan	225
1480.	Peace with Ferdinand, King of Naples	227
	The Turks land in Italy	228
	Otranto taken	ib.
	Florence absolved	229
	League against the Turks	ib.
1481	Death of Mahomed II.	230
	The Turks abandon Italy	ib.
	Girolamo Riario, Lord of Imola and Forli	ib.
1482.	War between Venice and Ferrara	231
1483.	Venice excommunicated	233
1484.	Peace of Bagnolo	ib.
	Death of Sixtus IV.	ib.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

AFFAIRS OF ITALY FROM 1484 TO 1493.

A. D.		Page.
1484—1492.	Innocent VIII.	236
1485.	War between the Pope and Naples	237
	Rebellion of the Neapolitan Nobles	238
1486.	Peace	241
1487.	The Florentines retake Sarzana	ib.
	Genoa surrendered to Milan	ib.
	Murder of the Neapolitan Nobles	242
1488.	Murder of Girolamo Riario	243
	And of Galeotto Manfredi	244
1492.	Death of Lorenzo de' Medici	247
1492—1503.	Alexander VI.	249
1493.	League of the Pope, Venice, and Milan against Naples	251
	General view of Italy	ib.
	Agriculture	ib.
	Commerce	252
	The Arts	ib.
	Literature	253
	Increase of Luxury	254
	Abolition of slavery	255
	Alteration in warfare	256
	Perfidy and assassination	257

CHAPTER XXXIV.

REIGN OF MAXIMILIAN I.—EXPEDITION OF CHARLES VIII. KING OF FRANCE INTO ITALY.

A.D.		Page.
1493—1519.	Maximilian I.	259
1493.	Philip, Regent of the Netherlands	260
1494.	Lodovico Sforza (the Moor) invested with Milan	261
	Title of Charles VIII. to the crown of Naples	ib.
	Death of Ferdinand, King of Naples	263
	Alfonso II. King	ib.
	Charles VIII. crosses the Alps	265
	Death of Gian-Galeazzo, Duke of Milan	267
	The Medici driven from Florence	269
	Pisa revolts from Florence	ib.
	Charles VIII. enters Rome	270
	His army	271
	The Infantry	ib.
	The Cavalry	ib.
	The Artillery	273
1495.	Alfonso II. abdicates and flies to Sicily	275
	Ferdinand II. crowned King of Naples	276
	Ferdinand II. flies to Ischia	ib.
	Charles VIII. enters Naples	ib.
	Charles crowned King of Naples	278
	League against him	ib.
	Battle of the Taro	282
	The Duke of Orleans besieged in Novara	284
	Charles VIII. arrives in France	ib.
	Ferdinand II. returns to Naples	285
	Expulsion of the French	ib.
1496.	Death of Ferdinand II.	ib.
	Frederic, King of Naples	ib.

CHAPTER XXXV.

MAXIMILIAN IN ITALY. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF GERMANY. NEW INSTITUTIONS.

A. D.		Page.
1496.	Marriage of the Archduke Philip with Johanna of Spain	289
	Expedition of Maximilian into Italy	290
	Siege of Leghorn	ib.
	He returns to Germany	291
1498.	Death of Charles VIII.	ib.
	Louis XII. King of France	ib.
	War between Maximilian and the Swiss	292
1499.	The Austrians defeated	293
	Completion of the Swiss independence	ib.
	Louis XII. invades the Milanese	294
	Lodovico Sforza abandons Milan	295
	Louis enters Milan	ib.
	Genoa submits to France	ib.
1500.	Lodovico Sforza restored to Milan	296
	Lodovico Sforza betrayed by the Swiss	297
	His captivity and death	ib.
1501.	Treaty of Trent	298
	Institutions for the preservation of the public peace	299
1495.	Diet of Worms	300
	The Imperial Chamber	ib.
	The Aulic Council	301
1500.	Division of Germany into Circles	302

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SECOND EXPEDITION OF MAXIMILIAN INTO ITALY.

A. D.		Page.
1501.	Treaty of Blois	304
	Conquest of Naples by the French and Spaniards	305
1503.	The French expelled by the Spaniards	ib.
	Cæsar Borgia	306
1492.	Created Archbishop and Cardinal	ib.
1497.	Murder of his brother Juan Borgia	307
	Treachery to the Archbishop of Cosenza	308
1498.	Borgia renounces the ecclesiastical profession	309
1499.	Murder of the Bishop of Setta	310
	Imola taken by Borgia	ib.
1500.	Forli, Pesaro, and Rimini taken	311
1501.	Faenza taken	ib.
	Borgia created Duke of Romagna	312
	Piombino, Urbino, and Camerino taken	ib.
1502.	Borgia deserted by his captains	313
	Murder of Borgia's captains	316
1503.	Perugia taken	ib.
	Death of Alexander VI.	317
	Ruin and death of Cæsar Borgia	ib.
	Pius III.	319
1503—1513.	Julius II.	ib.
1502.	The Electorial Union of Germany	320
1504.	War of Bavaria	321
1505.	Peace	322
1504.	The Archduke Philip proclaimed King of Castile	ib.
1506.	His death	323
1507.	Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands	ib.
1508.	Second expedition of Maximilian into Italy	325
	He attacks the Venetians	ib.
	But retires to Germany	ib.
	He obtains the title of Emperor-Elect	ib.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY.

A. D.		Page.
1508.	Prosperity of Venice	327
	League of Cambray	329
1509.	Venice excommunicated	330
	Battle of Ghiaradadda	331
	The Venetians abandon Terra firma	ib.
	They recover Padua	332
	And Vicenza, &c.	334
	Their defeat before Ferrara	335
1510.	The Pope deserts the league	ib.
	Venice absolved	ib.
	The Venetians lose Vicenza	336
	And Legnano	337
	Julius II. takes the field	338
	Vicenza retaken by the Venetians	ib.
1511.	Capture of Mirandola by Julius II.	ib.
	Bologna taken by the French	339
	Council of Pisa	340
	The Holy League	341
1512.	Siege of Bologna	ib.
	Raised by Gaston de Foix	340
	Brescia sacked by the French	ib.
	Bergamo surrenders	ib.
	Battle of Ravenna	343
	Death of Gaston de Foix	344
	Romagna submits to the French	ib.
	Fifth Council of the Lateran	345
	The French expelled Milan	ib.
	Massimiliano Sforza enters Milan	346
	Rupture between the Pope and Venice	ib.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

EXPEDITION OF FRANCIS I. KING OF FRANCE INTO ITALY. DEATH OF MAXIMILIAN. ELECTION AND CORONATION OF CHARLES V.

A. D.		Page.
1512.	Affairs of Florence	347
	Revolution in Florence	349
	The Medici restored	ib.
1513.	Death of Julius II.	350
1513—1521.	Leo X.	351
1513.	The French invade Milan	352
	Battle of Novara	353
	The French abandon the Milanese	ib.
	Losses of Venice	354
	The English invade France	355
	Maximilian serves under Henry VIII. King of England	ib.
	Victory of Guinegate	356
	The Swiss invade Burgundy	ib.
1514.	Peace between Louis XII. and the Pope, &c.	357
1515.	Death of Louis XII.	358
1515—1547.	Francis I. King of France	ib.
	Genoa submits to Francis	360
	Francis I. invades Italy	ib.
	His passage over the Alps	361
	He arrives in Piedmont	ib.
	Battle of Marignano	362
	Conquest of Milan	364
	Massimiliano Sforza retires into France	ib.
	Interview between the Pope and Francis I. in Bologna	ib.
	Abolition of the French Pragmatic Sanction	365
	Francis returns to France	366
1516.	Leo seizes the dutchy of Urbino	ib.
	Third expedition of Maximilian into Italy	ib.

A. D.		Page.
	Death of Ferdinand II. King of Aragon	367
	Charles I. King of Spain	368
	Peace of Noyon	ib.
	Peace of Brussels	ib
1515.	Maximilian secures the succession of Bohemia and Hungary	370
1519.	Death of Maximilian	373
	His character	ib.
	His family	374
	Seeds of the Reformation	375
1520.	Charles V. elected and crowned Emperor	378
	Conclusion	379

THE HISTORY

OF

THE WESTERN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER XXV.

REIGNS OF WENCESLAUS, AND RUPERT.

CHAPTER XXV.

Wenceslaus, King of Germany. 1378.

WENCESLAUS, King of the Romans, had been already crowned in his father's life time. He began his reign by assembling a Diet at Nuremberg, which was principally employed with the question of the great Schism of the West. The new king had received his father's dying injunction to declare for Pope Urban. Willing, however, that his judgment should appear unbiassed, he commissioned his cousin Josse, Margrave of Moravia,[1] his vicar-general in Italy, to enquire and report upon the qualifications of the rival pontiffs, and the validity of their respective elections. The Margrave's report being in favour of Urban, Wenceslaus resolved to

[1] Josse, or Jodoc, was the son of Wenceslaus' paternal uncle, John-Henry of Moravia, whose first wife was Margaret Maultasche, from whom he was afterwards divorced. Schmidt, vol. IV p. 29. note, and ante, vol. I. p. 491.

CHAPTER XXV.

uphold his pretensions; as did the greater portion of the German States.

Dissensions of the nobles with the imperial cities.

In the early part of his reign, we find Wenceslaus laudably employed in the attempt to re-establish the public peace, which was continually endangered by the dissensions between the nobles and the imperial cities. Many of the latter having formed themselves into confederations with a view to check the depredations of their noble neighbours, the nobles in like manner ranged themselves into companies, distinguished by the titles of the Lion, St. William, and St. George. In a short time, however, the cities in league amounted to no less than forty-one, comprising most of the principal towns of the Rhine, Swabia, and Franconia. The nobles, therefore, deemed it prudent to resort to amicable measures: the companies of the Lion, St. William, and St. George associated themselves with the city-league, which was also joined by Leopold II. Duke

1383. of Austria. Wenceslaus attempted to dissolve this formidable confederacy; and in a diet at Nuremberg proceeded to divide Germany into four parts, each under the direction of some principal noble. Finding the union of the cities unbroken by this partition, he placed himself at the head of a new

1384. league of princes, in the hope of mastering the re-

League of the cities with the Swiss, 1385.

fractory citizens. Hereupon the free-towns proposed a treaty with those of the Helvetic Confederacy; and Zurich, Berne, Soleure, and Zug, readily entered into a defensive alliance. But Schweitz in the name of the four forest cantons declined the

offer, alledging their unwillingness to interfere in the disputes of others.[2]

Leopold II. Duke of Austria attacks the Swiss. 1386.

To none of the German princes was this new confederacy so obnoxious as to Leopold, Duke of Austria, who burned to recover the possessions of his house in Switzerland, and avenge the defeat of his uncle by the brave mountaineers at Morgarten. He eagerly seized a pretext for a quarrel, and marched an army against the Swiss. But the battle of Sempach proved to the second Leopold still more disastrous than Morgarten had been to his uncle; his army was completely defeated; and he himself was numbered amongst the thousands of nobles who fell on this memorable occasion.[3] The Swiss performed prodigies of valour: but the name of Arnold von Winkelried, a knight of Unterwalden, was raised above the other patriots by the heroism with which he devoted himself to destruction. So impenetrable seemed the dense mass of the Austrian vanguard, clad from head to foot in glittering armour, so impassable the fence of lances which bad defiance to the ill-appointed rustics, that something more than ordinary prowess was

Battle of Sempach. Leopold defeated and slain.

[2] Struvius, p. 650.—Pfeffel, p. 544.—Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 18.—Planta, vol. I. p. 426.

[3] The manner of Leopold's death is variously related. According to Coxe (p. 195) he "fell by an unknown hand." Schmidt (no friend to the Swiss) attributes his end to a hardhearted Swiss (ein unbarmhertziger Schweitzer) who finding him still breathing, stabbed him with a knife, through a crevice in his armour: for which, if we may believe Faber, the man was tried and executed at Berne. This last statement Planta reasonably rejects, though he agrees in the main with Schmidt's account of the duke's death, vol. I. p. 441.

CHAPTER XXV.

necessary to burst through them. In the moment of necessity the brave Winkelried effected the desired object. He rushed upon the knights whose spears opposed his advance; then turning to his countrymen, he bequeathed his wife and children to their care, and drawing together all the lances within his reach, buried them in his own bosom. This magnanimous manœuvre is said to have been completely successful. As his stature was large, his weight bore many of his opponents to the ground, thereby opening a breach in the ranks of the enemy; and over his bleeding corpse the confederates completed the confusion which turned the fate of the day, and hastened the redemption of the Swiss from the thraldom of the House of Austria.[4]

Continuation of the Schism.

Meanwhile the unhappy Schism in the Church continued to divide the states of Europe, Wenceslaus, King of the Romans, Lewis, King of Hungary and Poland, Ferdinand, King of Portugal, Richard II. King of England, Italy with the exception of Naples, and the remote regions of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, declared for Urban VI. Charles V. King of France, Peter the Cruel, King of Aragon, Henry II. King of Castile, Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, Robert II. King of Scotland, Amadeus VI. Count of Savoy, Maria, Queen of Sicily, and Johanna, Queen of Naples were the partizans of Clement VII.[5] The support of most of these states was merely

[4] Planta, p. 440.—Berne had no share in the glory of the day, having declined to oppose Leopold.

[5] Dupin, vol. XII. c. 4.—According to Mariana (Lib. XVIII. c. 1.), the Spaniards at first stood neuter.

nominal: distance, or their own affairs, forbad any active interference. But this wretched quarrel of two priests was the immediate cause of the destruction of the unfortunate Queen of Naples. The death of her second husband, Lewis of Tarento, in 1362 left her undisputed monarch of Naples; and she soon afterwards married James of Aragon, titular King of Majorca. Notwithstanding her three marriages Johanna still remained childless; and she directed her attention to the choice of a successor. Such had been the ravages of death in the royal family, that of all the numerous progeny of Charles II. the only males surviving were Lewis, King of Hungary, and Charles, son of Lewis of Durrazzo. To him, Johanna gave in wedlock Margaret, daughter of her sister Maria; and the marriage was celebrated in 1368.

James of Majorca, third husband of Johanna, preferred the tumult of the Spanish wars to the charms of Naples and its Queen; and he died in Castile in 1375, whilst serving as a mercenary of king Henry II. In the next year Johanna gave her hand to Otho of Brunswick, a prince whose illustrious birth and mature age made him worthy her choice, upon the express condition that he should not assume the title of King.[6] Upon the news of the election of Urban VI. Otho repaired to Rome, where, with splendid presents, and assurances of duty, he offered the submission of the Queen and himself at the feet of the new Pontiff.

[6] Murat. Ann. 1375. 1376.—Giannone, Lib. XXIII. c. 3.

CHAPTER XXV.

But Otho, either disappointed in the secret object of his visit, or disgusted at the haughty conduct of Urban, departed from Rome full of indignation;[7] and the French cardinals received the countenance of Queen Johanna in their election of Clement VII. In Naples, this antipope was received with the utmost respect; but the people still inclined to their countryman Urban; and Clement, distrusting the temper of the Neapolitans, retreated to Fondi, to Gaieta, and finally established himself at Avignon.

Johanna Queen of Naples opposes Urban; 1379.

The result of Johanna's opposition to Urban was too soon manifested. A negociation was entered into by the Pope with Charles of Durazzo, who lent a willing ear to the offers of the premature sovereignty of Naples, his succession to which was endangered by the Queen's recent marriage. To provide himself with a force necessary for his criminal undertaking Charles quitted Treviso which he was then besieging, and departed into Hungary; whilst Urban took care to preach a crusade against the Queen whom he excommunicated, and gathered funds by violent extortions from the clergy and monasteries. Johanna was not insensible to her danger; and anxious to cut off the hopes of her ungrateful kinsman, she resolved to adopt a son and successor, since her age forbad her to look for

[7] Per alcune ragioni non ben conosciute disgustato del Papa. Murat. Ann. 1378.—Giannone (Lib. XXIII. c. 4.) cites a story from Theodoric à Niem, (secretary to Urban) of the Pope's keeping Otho, who presented him a cup of wine, for a long time on his knees, until reminded of his incivility by one of the cardinals. It is more probable that Otho's disgust arose from discovering some negociations between Urban and Charles of Durazzo.

progeny of her own. With the approbation of Clement VII. she fixed upon Louis, Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V. the reigning king of France, who eagerly accepted so advantageous an offer. But unfortunately the death of the king of France retarded the departure of Louis; and Charles of Durazzo had already advanced as far as Rome, where he was created senator by Urban. That Pope also conferred upon him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and solemnly crowned him king; exacting, however, in return the principality of Capua, which was bestowed on Francesco Prignano, the beloved nephew of Urban. Thus qualified for his conquest, Charles departed with the papal benediction; and on his arrival at Naples, the gates were treacherously opened to him. The Queen was compelled to fly for refuge to the Castel Nuovo; and Otho, after a vigorous but unsuccessful resistance, retreated upon Aversa. Finding Johanna reduced to extremities in the castle, Otho resolved to risk a battle; and the event of the engagement secured the crown to the usurper. John, Marquis of Montferrat, being slain, and Otho himself severely wounded and taken prisoner, the Neapolitan army was thrown into confusion, and the whole force put to flight. The unfortunate Johanna surrendered herself into the hands of her victorious kinsman, who caused her to be carried prisoner to the Castle of St. Felix.

CHAPTER XXV.

She adopts Louis of Anjou. 1380.

Charles of Durazzo invades Naples. 1381.

Though Lewis of Anjou was himself detained in France, he sent ten gallies of Provence, with a force

CHAPTER XXV.

under the count of Caserta, to the relief of Johanna. But these did not reach Naples until a few days after the defeat of Otho; and the kingdom was already in the possession of Charles. Willing to give some colour to his aggression, that prince intimated his desire to the captive Queen that she should receive the visit of the French leaders, and induce them to believe she consented to relinquish the crown. Johanna feigned assent, and the strangers were admitted to her apartment. In the interview, the Queen preserved her firmness; and after pathetically alluding to her sufferings, used the eloquence which she powerfully possessed in asserting her right to the throne, and exhorting them never to pay allegiance to the ungrateful robber, who from a Queen had converted her into a slave. The sorrowing Provençals departed, promising her immediate relief, and returned with the melancholy tidings to seek the duke of Anjou. But Charles, fired by the resolute conduct of Johanna, redoubled the hardships of her captivity; and her murder has cast an indelible stain upon his memory. She is generally reported to have been strangled: and her body having been for some time exposed in the church of St. Clara, was there meanly interred near the tomb of her father.[8]

Murder of Johanna. 1382.

[8] Murat. Ann. 1376–1382.—Giannone, Lib. XXIII. c. 5.—Well might the latter author say, that Froissart, however correct as to the affairs of France, cannot be trusted when Naples is concerned. Perhaps no passage in any historical writer contains more misstatements than occur in Sir John's account of Johanna's visit to Clement VII. at Fondi. The Queen is made to tell the Pope "that she was first married to Andrew, by whom she *had* no

Thus perished Johanna, Queen of Naples, after a reign of thirty-nine years, during which the people of that kingdom enjoyed greater tranquillity and happiness than they had ever before experienced. Her fame is obscured by the suspicion of her connivance in the murder of Andrew: and if probabilities are to be received by way of crimination, we shall be justified in supposing that she was not ignorant of the murderous design. The amount of her participation in the conspiracy it is now impossible to ascertain, unless some additional light be thrown upon the matter beyond that disclosed to her contemporaries.[9] But as no demand of

issue; for he *died young in Provence*; that after his death, she married *Charles* of Tarento, by whom she had a daughter, who *was to be married to Lewis of Navarre*; that the King of Hungary, *from the displeasure he had to his brother* her first husband, made war upon her second, whom he led prisoner into Hungary, *where he died*; that afterwards she married James, King of Majorca, *who died in a voyage to that island*; and that Charles of Durazzo imprisoned herself and her fourth husband Otho, with her son and daughter, where the two last died." Here are at least ten blunders, 1. Johanna *had* issue by Andrew; 2. That Prince did not die in Provence; 3. Her third husband was Lewis, not Charles; 4. She never had a daughter old enough to be even affianced; 5. Lewis of Hungary did not make war for the alledged cause; 6. He did not take her husband prisoner; 7. Neither did Lewis die in Hungary; 8. Her third husband did not die in a voyage to Majorca; 9. No son or daughter was imprisoned with her; 10. She could not complain of this imprisonment to Clement VII. at Fondi, as he was settled at Avignon when it occurred, and she never escaped from it. We may marvel after this that Gibbon (chap. LXIV. note 61) should desire his materials to be "always derived from such books as the chronicle of honest Froissart."

[9] Her contemporary, Giovanni Villani (Lib. XII. c. 51.) roundly asserts her guilt: but he admits that his information was derived from one Nicholas, an Hungarian, the governor of Andrew, and intimate friend of Villani's brother: which brother Matteo, in his continuation of Giovanni's Cronicà (Lib. I. c. 9), reiterates the charge. Muratori treats her guilt as unquestionable: whilst Giannone, like a good Neapolitan subject, is anxious for the reputation of his

CHAPTER XXV.

satisfaction was ever made for the death of the duke of Durazzo, Johanna appears to have admitted the justice of his fate, and with it her own knowledge of the extent of his guilt.

Johanna was four times married; and this repeated submission to the bonds of matrimony has been plausibly cited by her defenders as a refutation of the charge of illicit love. The bigotry of a party, who believed they were worshipping the true vicar of God, has denounced her as a follower of the antipope: a sin not very heinous, where the equivocal character of two polemical priests gave ample scope for a lady's prejudice or caprice. She left no children: her son by Andrew, and two daughters by Lewis of Tarento, died in their youth. She survived her sister Maria many years; and the youngest daughter of that princess was, by her care, married to the very man, who robbed her of her crown and her life.[10]

Charles III. King of Naples.

Rupture with Urban VI. 1385.

The good understanding between Charles and Urban was soon put an end to. The King beheld with displeasure the entry of the Pope into his dominions; and he resolved to drive him from Nocera, where he had established the papal court. He marched and laid siege to that city, and the indignant Urban was reduced to the miserable satis-

queen.—See the remarks of Bayle, Dict. Art. Naples;—particularly note (C); and Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. I. p. 520.

[10] Louis of Anjou did not long survive Johanna, and died in 1384. His son Louis II. made some ineffectual attempts upon Naples; and his family continued to assume the title of King. This title, as will be seen hereafter, was compromised by another adoption by another Johanna.

faction of pouring forth upon his besiegers his daily curses, by the sound of a bell and the blaze of a torch. In vain did his cardinals entreat him to resort to pacific measures, and to return to Rome. A dark suspicion of a conspiracy had taken possession of his fancy; their temperate counsels only aggravated his impatience; and six cardinals were loaded with chains and submitted to daily tortures. Wearied of his imprisonment he at length applied to Genoa for relief; and ten galleys being provided for him, he effected his embarcation, taking with him the unfortunate cardinals, and leaving the city and his beloved nephew a prey to the arms of Charles. He arrived in safety at Genoa, where he still continued his vain endeavours to wring from his victims an admission of their guilt. One alone, an English bishop, escaped by the interference of his king; but the remaining five were doomed to death, and the manner of their destruction was never divulged.[11]

Charles, King of Hungary. 1386.

The murder of Johanna by Charles of Durazzo met with a singular retribution. On the death of Lewis, King of Hungary, in 1386 the sceptre was transmitted to the feeble grasp of his two daughters. The sex and youth of the princesses found no favour in the eyes of the Hungarians; and remembering the intrepid character of Charles whilst he formerly dwelt amongst them, they urged him by pressing invitations to become their king. Maria, the elder princess, was destined to become the bride of Sigis-

[11] Murat. Ann. 1382-1386.—Giannone, Lib. XXIV. c. 1.

CHAPTER XXV.

mund, second son of the late Emperor Charles IV. and brother of King Wenceslaus. To frustrate the attempts of Charles's partizans, the Queen-mother hastened the nuptials; but Sigismund, succumbing to the general voice, immediately afterwards retired out of Hungary. Charles was received with great joy by the people; and after dissembling his ambition, and affecting to respect the rights of the princesses, he yielded to the popular outcry, and consented to be crowned King of Hungary. But he was not the only dissembler: the royal females deceived him into the belief that they were satisfied with the decision of the nation; and the new king was enticed to pay a visit of ceremony or friendship. As he conversed with the Queen and her daughters, his head was cloven by an Hungarian sword; and his Italian attendants, alarmed for their own safety, abandoned their master to the hands of the assassins. Instead of avenging the death of their sovereign, the inconstant people cried out for Sigismund and Maria; the daughter of Lewis was declared their *King;* and at the stern command of the implacable Urban, the last honours of interment were denied to Charles, who had died unreconciled to the holy see.[12]

His murder.

Urban VI. expired at Rome in 1389, leaving the character of a violent and haughty schismatic;

[12] Giann. Lib. XXIV. c. 2. They called her King, out of regard to the memory of her father Lewis, ibid.—Elizabeth, the Queen-mother did not long survive this murder, but was seized and drowned by the partizans of Charles.

despotic and cruel in his nature: eager alike to advance his kindred and crush his foes. His death produced no intermission in the Schism. Clement was still rejected by the cardinals of Rome, who elected, in the room of Urban, Cardinal Pietro Tomacelli, a Neapolitan, installed by the title of Boniface IX. The new Pontiff commenced by thundering excommunication against the Pope of Avignon, who was not slow to return the fulmination.

Boniface IX. Pope. 1389-1404.

A general anxiety now prevailed in Europe to see the unhappy Schism brought to an end. The death of Clement VII. in 1394 raised hopes of an accommodation, and the French cardinals elected Pedro de Luna, a Spaniard, who was well known to have declared that, if he arrived at the Popedom, he would never rest till he had effected the union of the Church. But when once elected Benedict XIII. adroitly evaded all persuasions to resign, and desired an interview with his rival at Rome. Wenceslaus zealously laboured to extinguish the dissension; the kings of France, England, Aragon, and Castile earnestly entreated both Popes to relinquish their claim; and the University of Paris appealed from the authority of Benedict to a future Pope lawfully to be elected. The zeal of Boniface to summon a general Council died away before the entreaties of his mother and brethren, who exhorted him to retain the chair of St. Peter. New embassies from Wenceslaus and Charles VI. of France were met by new evasions in Rome,

Benedict XIII. Antipope. 1394-1424.

CHAPTER XXV.

and by the positive refusal of Benedict to abdicate. Boucicault, the marshal of Charles VI. laid siege to Avignon, from which the cardinals fled with precipitation; and the resolute Antipope remained closely blockaded in his well fortified palace. Compelled at length to capitulate by the failure of expected relief from Aragon, he bound himself by oath to resign the Popedom upon the resignation or death of Boniface.[13]

Boniface now made overtures to Wenceslaus and endeavoured to draw him over to his side by an invitation to Rome, with the promise of the imperial crown. But the King of the Romans was in no situation to lend himself to the service of another. After having, in some measure, reconciled the princes and cities of Germany,[14] he retired into Bohemia, and despising the frequent calls of the Electors to return among them, abandoned himself to a course of indolence and debauchery. His reckless indifference and ferocious cruelty soon estranged his Bohemian subjects; and the murder of some of the principal citizens of Prague stirred up general indignation. The nobles, therefore, resolved to secure his person; and he was accordingly arrested in the monastery of Beraun, and conducted to Prague, where he suffered a rigorous imprisonment of nearly four months. Being permitted to visit the public baths, he contrived to elude the vigilance of his guards; but was retaken, and sent prisoner to Rosenberg. The Electors now inter-

Wenceslaus imprisoned in Bohemia. 1394.

[13] Dupin, vol. XII. c. 4.

[14] Schmidt, p. 27.

fered on behalf of their captive monarch; and the threat of a war prevailed upon the Bohemians to restore him to liberty.[15]

But Wenceslaus had soon reason to complain of the severity of the Electors themselves. The first act of this unfortunate prince after his release, was to create his brother-in-law Duke of Milan; and for the sum of 100,000 florins, Gian Galeazzo Visconte was invested with great portion of the cities of Lombardy. The German princes resented this investiture as an alienation of the imperial territory; and the entire indifference shewn by Wenceslaus to the interests of Germany, gave them a plausible pretext to resolve on his deposition. Accordingly at an assembly of the Electors at Mentz they entered into a mutual engagement for the preservation of Church and Empire, as well as of their own rights and privileges. This confederation was immediately joined by the Dukes of Bavaria and other influential nobles; and Wenceslaus was formally summoned to meet the princes at Frankfort. Wenceslaus contented himself with sending thither ambassadors to excuse his absence for the present; and to fix a future day when he in person would take part in their deliberations. But the patience of the assembly was now exhausted; and the Electors not only resolved on the deposition of the King of Bohemia, but began to look round for a

[15] Pfeffel, p. 547. The story told by Struvius from Dubravius, of his escape by means of Susanna (ambubaia) and the little skiff, is certainly apocryphal. His release is by Æneas Sylvius and others directly ascribed to John, Duke of Lusatia, and Procopius, Margrave of Moravia.

CHAPTER XXV.

fit successor in the Empire. Before, however, taking this decisive step, they again solemnly invited Wenceslaus to meet them at Rense, that he might redress the grievances complained of; and intimated their determination, in case of his default, to abjure their allegiance to him.[16]

Wenceslaus deposed. 1400.

On the appointed day, the three ecclesiastical Electors and Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, met at Rense; and, Wenceslaus neither appearing in person nor by any one on his behalf, they proceeded solemnly to depose him, with a formal recital of his delinquencies. His indifference to the welfare of the Church and the Empire was put forth at the head of the charges; the dismemberment of the Empire by the grant of the dutchy of Milan and other imperial fiefs was particularly insisted on; and even his violent and murderous acts against his Bohemian subjects were included in the electoral impeachment. On the following day, the three archbishops unanimously named as his successor Rupert III. Elector Palatine; who, by his own vote, in the absence of the Electors of Bohemia, Saxony, and Brandenburg, ratified his election. On this occasion the new King subscribed a capitulation, by which he bound himself, among other articles, to take measures for the restoration of harmony in the Church; and for the reunion of Milan and other Italian estates to the Empire.[17]

Rupert, King of the Romans.

[16] Struvius, p. 654.—Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 38. 41.

[17] Schmidt, p. 41.—Pfeffel, p. 554.

CHAPTER XXV.

Though Rupert found many opponents to his nomination in Germany, the apathy of Wenceslaus continually deprived the Bohemian prince of his adherents. And finding his election recognized by Pope Boniface IX. the new King resolved on an expedition into Lombardy, in pursuance of his undertaking to restore to the Empire the Italian fiefs, which had been granted away by his predecessor. But his designs of conquest were at once annihilated by the Milanese forces, which surprised him near the Lago di Garda. Here his troops were completely defeated; the remnant with difficulty escaped; and he himself taking flight to Venice retired again into Germany.[18]

Rupert defeated in Lombardy. 1401.

Wenceslaus had refused to renounce the title of King of the Romans, and the defeat of his rival might have encouraged him to assert his right to the throne. By a singular coincidence, his brother Sigismund had, at this juncture, been dragged from the throne of Hungary to a dungeon; and Ladislaus, son and successor of Charles III. King of Naples, was elected in his stead. Sigismund escaping from his prison returned into Bohemia; and vainly endeavoured to stimulate his brother to active measures for the recovery of the Empire. But he soon found in Wenceslaus an obstacle to his schemes for undermining Rupert in Germany and Italy; and justifying himself by the King's repeated paroxysms of cruelty and ferocity, he proceeded to arrest his person. The wretched Wenceslaus was

[18] Struvius, p. 670.

CHAPTER XXV.

now a second time imprisoned in the Castle of Prague, and afterwards transferred to a fortress on the Danube; his brother meantime assuming the government of Bohemia. But whilst Sigismund was engaged in Hungary in wresting the crown from Ladislaus of Naples, the captive king, by the assistance of a fisherman, regained his liberty; apparently content with the Bohemian kingdom, although a strong party was ready in Germany to favour his restoration to the throne.[19]

Such was the distracted state of the Western Empire at the commencement of the fifteenth century. The imperial crown claimed by two kings; the holy see disputed by two Popes; and now, to complete the confusion, the death of Gian-Galeazzo in 1402 left his widely-extended territory a prey to his neighbours; whilst the armies of the Pope, the Venetians, and the Condottieri rushed in upon his dismembered dominions. On the death of Boniface IX. in 1404 the Roman cardinals elected Innocent VII. whose short reign is marked by nothing save his expulsion from Rome by the turbulent citizens, and the momentary occupation of the city by Ladislaus, King of Naples. But on the death of Innocent, a ray of hope beamed upon the distracted Church. As one of the conditions upon which the surrender of Benedict had been received at Avignon was his promise to resign upon the

Innocent VII. Pope. 1404-1406.

[19] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 559. This imprisonment and the escape by means of the fisherman (whom he ennobled) are referred by Struvius, p. 653., to a former period. The second imprisonment in Prague was, however, in 1402, eight years after the first. Art de vérif. les Dates, tom. III. p. 460.

death of the Roman Pontiff, the cardinals hesitated about electing a successor to Innocent. As this promise, however, had not been free from compulsion which might enable Benedict to evade it, they agreed to elect a new Pope, every cardinal taking an oath that, if elected, he would lay down the Popedom immediately the Antipope should consent to resign his dignity. Angelo Corrario, a Venetian, was accordingly chosen, with the title of Gregory XII.; and after his election, he solemnly repeated his oath of resignation. There is little reason to doubt his sincerity in the outset; he at once entered into a negociation with Benedict; and it was agreed between them that they should meet at Savona, a town on the coast near Genoa. Benedict appeared at the appointed place; but the love of power had now corrupted the honesty of Gregory; and though he quitted Rome and arrived at Siena, he began to start objections to the situation of Savona. As the scruples of the one priest encreased, so did the asseverations of eagerness to resign grow loud with the other; and whilst Gregory affected to dread the sea and the French garrison in Genoa, Benedict protested against trusting himself in the mainland of Italy.[20] Still messages were daily interchanged between these fraudulent old men; and Europe grew weary of their chicanery. But Ladislaus of Naples having a second time occupied Rome, Gregory seized upon this aggression as a plausible excuse for evading the great question. The adhe-

CHAPTER XXV.

Gregory XII. Pope. 1406-1415.

[20] Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 374.

CHAPTER XXV.

rents of either party now resolved to withdraw their support. Charles VI. King of France intimated to Benedict his intention to reject his authority, and published an edict of neutrality. A more decided blow was struck by the cardinals of Gregory, who, alarmed at the announcement of his intention to add nine to their number, left him in disgust and withdrew to Pisa. Being here joined by the cardinals of Avignon it was agreed to summon a general council, with an appeal to a future Pope. Benedict thus deserted set sail for Spain and landed at Perpignan; and Gregory retired to Rimini where he was honourably received by Carlo Malatesta. To counteract the proceedings at Pisa, the two fugitives summoned each his Council, the one at Perpignan; the other at Aquileia.

Council of Pisa. 1409.

The Council of Pisa was opened on the 25th of March, 1409. The members of that assembly were numerous in proportion to its importance, and comprised the prelates, ambassadors, and envoys of most of the states of Europe. From Germany and Aragon no ambassadors appeared; for Rupert persisted in adhering to Gregory, and King Martin was devoted to his countryman Benedict. The months of April, May, and June were consumed in the various discussions and divisions of the assembly; the rival Popes were cited and declared contumacious; the authority of the Council was fortified by a decree; and after a second citation, Angelo Corrario, calling himself Gregory XII. and Pedro de Luna, calling himself Benedict XIII.

CHAPTER XXV.

were excommunicated as heretics, and deprived of all their ecclesiastical dignities. The Council next proceeded to the election of a true and lawful head of the Church, and by the dictation of Cardinal Baldassare Cossa, legate of Bologna (himself refusing the proferred tiara), the choice fell upon Peter of Candia, once a Greek beggar; but whose merits had procured him a succession of preferments, and now raised him to the loftiest pinnacle of human greatness. He assumed the title of Alexander V.[21]

Alexander V. Pope. 1409-1410.

Nothing dismayed by the preparations of Pisa, the two heretical Popes presided at their respective councils. Benedict even anticipated the assembly at Pisa by opening in November 1408 the Council of Perpignan, which was attended by the bishops of Spain and many prelates of France. These, indeed, gradually fell off until only eighteen remained, who seasoned their devotion with salutary advice in favour of resignation. On the very day after his deprivation Gregory also opened his Council at Udine, and a scanty assembly of prelates recognized him as lawful Pope. But before they separated the election of Alexander was announced; and Gregory might securely promise to resign his dignity, whenever the two false Popes should be persuaded to a similar humiliation. Thus then, the Church became a monster with three heads. In Spain and Scotland, the traveller might learn

1st Nov. 1408.

6th June 1409.

[21] See a curious letter descriptive of the Council, from the Abbot of St. Maixence to the Bishop of Poitiers, in Mezeray, vol. II. chap. VIII.

CHAPTER XXV.

that Benedict XIII. was the only true Pontiff; in Germany or Naples, he would be exhorted to yield obedience to Gregory XII.; whilst, in the rest of Europe, his heresy would be denounced, if he acknowledged any other Pope than Alexander V.

The Council of Gregory had hurried towards its conclusion at the menaces of the Venetians, who rejected the authority of their fellow-countryman, and adopted the decision of Pisa. The neighbourhood of Venice, therefore, was no place of safety; and Gregory, embarking on the galleys of Ladislaus, found an honourable retreat at Gaieta. That ambitious king, after his vain attempt to retain the throne of Hungary, had availed himself of the Pope's absence to enter Rome, for the third time, in triumph. Thence he was now driven by the mercenaries of Alexander; who was, however, diverted from visiting the capital by the persuasions of Cardinal Cossa; and proceeded to Bologna, where he terminated his brief reign on the third of May 1410. Cossa was content to accept a dignity he had once thought fit to refuse: the cardinals were betrayed into his election; and he assumed the name of John XXIII.[22]

John XXIII. Pope. 1410-1415.

In the Council of Pisa, Wenceslaus had been recognized as lawful King of the Romans;[23] and a strong party, headed by the Elector of Mentz, was formed in Germany against the authority of Rupert. But Wenceslaus still lay inactive in Prague, where

[22] Muiat. Ann. 1410.—Dupin, vol. XIII. c. 1.—Moshcim, vol. III. p. 403.
[23] Struvius, p. 658

CHAPTER XXV.

a new religious controversy raged in the University,[24] and the doctrines of the English reformer Wickliff, disseminated by John Huss, were preparing a fearful warfare for the Bohemians. Nor did the death of Rupert produce any favourable result to Wenceslaus. The double election of his brother Sigismund and of his cousin Josse of Moravia threatened the Empire with a new schism, when the opportune death of the latter three months after his election left the field open to his rival.[25] Wenceslaus offered no impediment to his brother's succession. Content to see the imperial crown secured to his family, he renounced all his claims in favour of Sigismund; and died in Bohemia in 1419, at the moment when the Hussite reformers were commencing their career of blood.[26] He left no issue by either of his two queens. With talents of a superior order and many redeeming qualities, Wenceslaus stands forth in the annals of Bohemia as a monster of the blackest cruelty; and the violent step of his Bohemian subjects has been excused by his alledged ferocity which justified his incarceration as a raging beast of prey.[27] His inveterate habit of drunkenness seems universally admitted: but this vicious propensity has been accounted for by poison administered to him in early youth, which,

Death of Rupert. 1410.

Josse, King of the Romans; His death. 1411.

Sigismund, King of the Romans.

Death of Wenceslaus. 1419.

[24] Four thousand students quitted their Alma Mater, many of whom retiring to Leipsig laid the foundation of that University's renown. Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 561.

[25] Struvius, p. 684. [26] Pfeffel, p. 564-578.

[27] See some of the imputed atrocities of the Bohemian *Nero* in Struvius, p. 646. n. (7).

CHAPTER XXV.

though it failed to effect his destruction, created an insatiable and ever-raging thirst.[28] That he grossly neglected the interest of the Empire is a charge not easily answered: but the malice of his enemies has defeated itself by the atrocious character of the crimes they impute to him; the foul and over-charged aspersions of slander being generally their surest refutation.

[28] Pfeffel, p. 538.

CHAPTER XXVI.

REIGN OF SIGISMUND. COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE. HUSSITE WAR. COUNCIL OF BASLE.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Sigismund, King of the Romans. 1411.

SIGISMUND, the new King of the Romans, was the second son of the Emperor Charles IV. By his marriage with Maria, *King* of Hungary, he had shared the throne with that princess; and upon her death in 1392 became sole monarch of the kingdom. The rapid advance of the Turks into Europe called Sigismund into the field; and his unfortunate defeat at Nicopolis in 1396[1] gave the sultan Bajazet I. a firm footing in the West. Sigismund became an exile and a wanderer, and the Hungarian crown was seized by Ladislaus, King of Naples. But the exiled monarch returned with a reinforcement of Bohemians; again seated himself upon the throne of Hungary; and now by the unanimous voice of the Electors was declared the successor of the Cæsars.

1403.

Immediately after his election, Sigismund professed his determination to effect the extinction of the great Schism. He opened a communication with Pope John XXIII. exhorting him to convene

[1] Froissart, vol. IV. chap. 59. 62 to 76.—Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 1. 0.

CHAPTER XXVI.

a general council; and proposed Constance, within his own dominions, as the place of assembly. John was in no condition to oppose this salutary measure: Ladislaus of Naples was again at the gates of Rome; the alliance of the Emperor-elect was too valuable to be slighted; and the Pope and Sigismund met at Lodi to concert measures for the termination of the schism, and make arrangements for the imperial coronation.[2] The two heads of Christendom are reported to have narrowly escaped destruction at this period. They visited Cremona, then revolted from Milan, and governed by her tyrant Gabrino Fondolo. Sigismund and Pope John ascended the summit of the lofty tower; and Fondolo for a moment entertained the design of precipitating them both over the parapet. Eleven years afterwards he suffered death on the scaffold at Milan; and in his last moments bitterly reproached himself for his cowardice in abandoning his murderous purpose.[3]

Meeting of the Pope and King at Lodi. 1413.

Though the immediate death of Ladislaus tempted John to withdraw his consent to the Council, yet fearing to injure himself in the eyes of Europe by so open a breach of faith, he listened to the encouraging assurances of his cardinals, and reluctantly journeyed to Constance. The newly-crowned King of the Romans[4] soon afterwards made his appearance; and the number of strangers intro-

1414.

[2] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 89. [3] Campi, apud Murat Ann. 1413

[4] He was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle by the Elector of Cologne on the 8th of November, 1414. Struvius, p. 864.

duced into the town was computed by a contemporary historian at forty thousand. Besides thirty cardinals, three hundred prelates, and a crowd of inferior clergy, four Electors and many nobles were present at this momentous assembly. Thither also the ex-Popes Gregory and Benedict sent their deputies; and after the settlement of several preliminary points, the great Council was opened on the 1st of March 1415.

Council of Constance. 1415-1418.

The general desire was the voluntary resignation of the three pontifical pretenders. The life of John before his advancement to the holy see had been stained by atrocious vices, the disclosure of which in that august assembly might have struck a more obdurate soul with shame and consternation. The threat of such an exposure secured his acquiescence, and the Council were gratified by his unconditional relinquishment of the tiara. But the guilty priest soon repented his resignation; and relying on the protection of Frederic IV. of Austria, Count of Tyrol, he quitted Constance in disguise and arrived at Schaffhausen, where he again asserted his supremacy as the true vicar of Christ.

Though the withdrawal of John threw the Council into confusion, the fathers still continued their proceedings. In the fourth session an important decree was made, by which the authority of a general Council was declared superior to every power upon earth, not excepting that of the Pope. At a subsequent meeting, Frederic of Austria was excommunicated and put under the Ban of the Em-

CHAPTER XXVI.

pire; his territories were abandoned to the ravages of the Germans and Swiss;[5] and being reduced to the most deplorable extremity, he was compelled to purchase peace by delivering up the fugitive Pope. The Council proceeded to examine the articles of accusation exhibited against John: seventy was the number preferred; but the revolting character of some induced the fathers, for the honour of the Church, to suppress twenty of the most enormous. The remainder being substantiated by the deposition of witnesses, the Council pronounced their sentence, by which Baldassare Cossa, calling himself John XXIII., was declared degraded from the Popedom. He was then delivered over to Lewis III, Elector Palatine, who sent him prisoner to Heidelberg.[6]

Degradation of John XXIII. 29th May, 1415.

Resignation of Gregory XII. 4th July.

The resignation of Gregory was soon afterwards announced at Constance by Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini; and this pious act of the self-deposing Pontiff was rewarded by his being permitted to retain the rank of cardinal, and created governor of the march of Ancona. But the sturdy Benedict resisted all attempts to obtain his abdication; and Sigismund evinced his zeal in the good cause, by proposing himself to visit the refractory priest and his sovereign the king of Aragon. He accordingly quitted Constance and repaired to Perpignan, where he was joined by King Ferdinand I. and the am-

[5] For the extent of Frederic's losses on this occasion, see Coxe, vol. I. p. 275, and Planta, vol. I. p. 89–90.

[6] Pfeffel, p. 571.

bassadors of Castile and Navarre. After vainly attempting to soothe Benedict into resignation, Sigismund departed to Narbonne: but his journey was not wholly ineffectual; for the kings of Aragon, Castile, and Navarre, weary of the pertinacity of the Antipope, one and all consented to desert him. The resolute Benedict preferred flight and captivity to the loss of the pontifical title; and driven from Perpignan he sought refuge in his desolate Castle of Peñiscola; where he ventured to defy his enemies, and consoled himself with unremitted denunciations upon all who denied his supremacy.[7]

Visit of Sigismund to France; 1416.

The zeal of Sigismund for the welfare of the Church was not so ardent as to prevent his attempting the advancement of his own interests; nor does his reputation acquire any lustre by his journey into France upon the present occasion. His visit to Paris has by some been ascribed to the laudable desire of reconciling the differences of France and England; yet his subsequent conduct flatly contradicts this supposition, and gives room for the imputation, that he was treacherously bent on availing himself of the distractions of the French to regain the ancient possessions of the Empire which had once belonged to the kingdom of Arles. Nothing could be more disastrous than the state of France at the time of Sigismund's arrival. The insanity of Charles VI. left the kingdom a prey to internal faction, whilst the invasion of the English

[7] Mariana, Lib. XX. c. 7. and 8.

CHAPTER XXVI.

and the victory of Azincourt threatened the unfortunate nation with a foreign yoke. After visiting Paris, Sigismund passed over into England with the avowed intention of inducing Henry V. to conclude a peace with the French. But the strict alliance which he now formed with the English prince boded nothing favourable to France; and after his return through that country he at once threw off the mask and became the avowed enemy of Charles VI. During his residence in Paris he had alarmed the jealousy of the court by assuming in the Parliament the seat of the king; and by conferring knighthood on a subject of France whose birth was not sufficiently noble to satisfy the scruples of French chivalry. These assumptions of supreme power were, however, overlooked at a time when the distracted state of the kingdom made the people little solicitous for the rights of the crown. But when on Sigismund's second arrival in France he intimated at Lyons his intention of conferring the dignity of Duke on the count of Savoy, he was reminded by the friends of the king that such an act performed within the French dominions would amount to an assertion of sovereignty, and that the king of France acknowledged no other superior than God. He was therefore compelled to postpone the execution of his design until he had crossed the Rhone; and at Chambéri Count Amadeus VIII. was invested with the Dutchy of Savoy.[8] From this time Sigismund proclaimed his hostility to the king of France, declar-

And to England.

Savoy erected into a Dutchy. 1417.

[8] See Appendix, Table XXVI.

CHAPTER XXVI.

ing his league with the king of England; and he called upon Charles to surrender the territory which had gradually been usurped from the Empire.[9]

On the return of Sigismund to Constance he again devoted himself to the labours of the Council. Benedict still persisted in his refusal to resign; and he was at length convicted by the fathers of perjury, heresy, and schism, and declared to be deprived of all ecclesiastical dignity and station. Having thus cleared the field, they proceeded to the election of a successor to the vacant chair of St. Peter: and by the suffrage of the five[10] great nations, Cardinal Ottone Colonna was raised to the sublime distinction. The great schism being now confined to the rock of Peñiscola, the council despatched the remaining matters under the auspices of the new Pope Martin V.; and one of the acts at Constance was to celebrate the obsequies of the abdicated Gregory, who survived the new election scarcely seven days. At length the sittings of this celebrated council being concluded, its dissolution was formally pronounced, and Martin, proceeding by slow journies through Lombardy, arrived at Florence in the beginning of the year 1419.[11] During his protracted residence in that city, he had the satisfac-

Deposition of Benedict XIII. 26th July, 1417.

Election of Martin V. 11th Nov.

22d April 1418.

Martin arrives at Florence; 26th Feb. 1419.

[9] Père Daniel, tom. VI. 518.—Rapin, tom. III. p. 456.—Art de vérifier les Dates, tom. III. p. 621.

[10] The German, Italian, French, English, and Spanish. The characteristics of the four first are thus given by a contemporary author; to the Germans are ascribed instantia et importunitas; to the Italians, astutia et partialitas; to the French, solemnitas et excellentia; to the English, audacia et acuitas.—Script. Brit. vol. IV. p. 1. 1.

[11] Murat. Ann. 1414-1417.—Dupin, vol. XIII. c. 2.—Mosheim, vol. III. p. 4..

CHAPTER XXVI.

tion of receiving the submission of the degraded John XXIII.; who having escaped from Germany now voluntarily threw himself at the feet of Martin and renounced all claim to the Popedom; an act of humiliation which procured his restoration to the rank of cardinal, but which he survived only a few months. Soon afterwards, the bandit-captain Braccio restored to the Pope Narni, Terni, and other places, of which he had made himself master; and by the assistance of this chief Bologna was once more reduced to obedience, surrendering her government into the hands of Martin, who now repaired to Rome.

And at Rome. 30th Sept. 1420.

Notwithstanding these proceedings, the great schism was unextinguished. The Antipope Benedict still breathed forth his anathemas from the castle of Peñiscola; and on his death in 1424 his two surviving cardinals elected Gil Muñoz, a canon of Barcelona, who took the name of Clement VIII. But this shadow of a Pope and his cardinals were at length prevailed upon to admit the invalidity of his pretensions; and by his renunciation of all claim to the Popedom the schism was terminated in 1429.[12]

Death of Benedict XIII. 1424.

End of the great schism. 1429.

[12] Murat. Ann. 1418–1429.—Giannone, Lib. XXV.—Mariana, Lib. XX. c. 16. The following are the dates of the Popes and Antipopes;

1378. Urban VI.	1378. Clement VII.
1389. Boniface IX.	
	1394. Benedict XIII.
1404. Innocent VII.	
1406. Gregory XII.	
1409. Alexander V.	
1410. John XXIII.	
1417. Martin V.	1424. Clement VIII.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Effects of the council of Constance.

Europe had beheld the meeting of the council of Constance with satisfaction, and watched its progress with anxiety for more than three years. Yet Europe, on its dissolution, might well inquire what were the great beneficial results; or what the reforms in the corrupt state of the Church, which had been one of the avowed objects of the assembled fathers. One Pope, indeed, had been nominated instead of three pretenders; the superiority of the Council over the Pope had been decreed; and the necessity of periodical assemblies established. But the partizans of Rome shrunk from the consideration of clerical abuses; and unhappily for the Empire the seeds of a new contention were sown, the bitter harvest of which Sigismund was doomed to reap. Under the sacred name of religion deeds of horrour had been perpetrated by her ministers; the honour of the King had been compromised; and the murders of John Huss and Jerome of Prague have left an indelible stain upon this far-famed assembly.

John Huss, a man of genuine piety and great learning, the confessor of Sophia second wife of King Wenceslaus, and subsequently Rector of the University of Prague, had for some years zealously propagated in Bohemia the milder *heresies* of Wickliff the English reformer. His denial of the Pope's supremacy made him particularly obnoxious to the court of Rome, and the intervention of his sovereign was once exerted to shield him from the papal vengeance. But Huss still continued in the honest

CHAPTER XXVI.

dissemination of his reformed doctrines; and he now received a summons to appear before the Council. Having obtained from Sigismund a safe-conduct which amply promised him security,[13] he repaired to Constance, where, in spite of the imperial pledge, some of the over-zealous cardinals presumed to lay hands upon him. Huss was permitted to vindicate his opinions before the assembly; but his opinions were pronounced heretical, and he was sentenced to be burned alive. Sigismund, if his own word may be taken,[14] warmly protested against this diabolical measure; but the Council were deaf to his remonstrance, and the horrible sentence was carried into execution.[15] In the following year, his friend and pupil Jerome of Prague, who had gone to Constance to the assistance of the persecuted Huss, underwent a similar fate;[16] and it is fortunate for the reputation of the King in this instance that the murder took place during his absence in France.

Murder of John Huss; 1415.

And of Jerome of Prague. 1416.

These atrocious deeds could not but make a lively impression upon the Bohemians, who held the characters of their martyred countrymen in the highest estimation. They justly implicated Sigis-

[13] The continuator of the Abbé Fleury's Ecclesiastical History asserts that Huss only received the safeconduct *at Constance*. It is, however, expressly stated by Lenfant (Hist. du Concile de Constance, tom. I. p. 42) that the lords who notified to the Pope the arrival of Huss in Constance at the same time intimated that he was fortified by a safeconduct from Sigismund.

[14] Chaufepié, art. Hus, note (T.)—Milner (Church History, vol. IV. p. 222) is less lenient to Sigismund;—and with good reason.

[15] Mosheim, vol. III. p. 109–118.

[16] Ibid. and Chaufepié, art. Jerome.

mund in the murder of Huss; and when on the death of Wenceslaus in 1419 he stepped forward to receive the crown of Bohemia, he found his claims opposed by an immense multitude of the *Hussites*.

Hussite War. 1419.

The distinguished leader of this adverse party was John, surnamed Ziska, from the loss of one of his eyes.[17] Though poor in fortune he was of a noble family; had been bred in the court of Charles IV., and was afterwards made chamberlain to Wenceslaus. The death of Huss deeply affected his ardent mind, and the popish clergy of Bohemia were marked as objects of his especial hatred. From the general feeling of indignation which prevailed, Ziska soon found that his followers amounted to some thousands; and taking possession of a mountain in the province of Bechin, which they denominated Mount Tabor, they there built a city and erected extensive fortifications. From this their strong hold the Hussites descended into the plain, directing their ravages against the monasteries and churches. They testified their contempt of the late council, which had strictly forbidden the cup to the laity, by insisting on receiving the Eucharist in both kinds. They burst into Prague, sacked the religious houses, and put to death the magistrates; an outrage which is said to have struck Wenceslaus with his mortal agony. Their wrath was farther exasperated by the imprudent conduct of Sigismund, who commenced his

[17] The generality of Historians assure us that Ziska signifies, in the Bohemian dialect, one-eyed. Archdeacon Coxe, however, denies this on the authority of Pelzel.—House of Austria, vol. I. p. 214. note.

CHAPTER XXVI.

reign as king of Bohemia by a rigorous and cruel persecution of the heretics. In full confidence of his power he assembled an enormous army, and laid siege to Prague, then occupied by the Hussites. But all his attempts to reduce the city were abortive: he was defeated by Ziska with great loss, and compelled to raise the siege and retreat into Hungary. Ziska, thus left to his lawless course, carried fire and sword wherever he appeared; and though his remaining eye was extinguished in an engagement, his blindness was no check to his ferocity. In vain did Sigismund bring new armies into the field; the valour and promptitude of Ziska baffled all his measures; and he was again driven back into Hungary.[18]

Victories of Ziska over Sigismund. 1420.

1421.

It would have been strange if in this multitude of insurgents, actuated by religious phrenzy and abandoned to their own fanatical notions, unanimity of sentiments had prevailed. We find the Hussites soon divided into two leading factions, the milder and more moderate party calling themselves *Calixtines*, the more bigoted and sanguinary distinguished as *Taborites*. Their first open rupture was regarding the choice of a sovereign; the Calixtines proposing Coribut, Prince of Lithuania, whilst Ziska and the Taborites refused to submit to a foreign ruler. The superior force of Ziska dissipated the pretensions of Coribut. He next invaded Moravia and Austria, and Sigismund attempted to avert his ravages by the most alluring offers. But all nego-

The Calixtines and Taborites. 1422.

Death of Ziska. 1424.

[18] Struvius, p. 701.

ciations were put an end to by the death of this terrible chieftain, who perished by the plague in 1424.[19]

Procopius, a monk and therefore surnamed *Rasus*, succeeded Ziska as captain of the Taborites. Nor was he less formidable than his predecessor. Under his command the sanguinary fanatics carried on a relentless war with Sigismund; they defeated his troops, rejected his offers of pacification, and ravaged with the utmost cruelty the provinces of Misnia, Franconia, Bavaria, and Lusatia.[20]

Procopius Rasus; His ravages. 1425. 1429.

In this deplorable state of the Empire, the only hope of reconciling these religious distractions lay in the approaching Council which Martin had fixed to take place at Basle in the year 1431. The fathers had already begun to assemble, when the Pope was summoned by death, and Eugenius IV. a Venetian by birth, was elected his successor. But as Eugenius was too well aware of the anxiety which prevailed for the reform of the Church, and had too much reason to believe the court of Rome must be a loser by an impartial inquiry, he spared no pains to defeat the proceedings of the assembly. Upon various pretexts he objected to the acts, and even the place, of the council, and endeavoured to procure its removal to Bologna; and finding the fathers persist in their proceedings, he published a Bull, declaring the Council of Basle *dissolved*. The

Death of Martin V. 1431. Eugenius IV. 1431-1447. Council of Basle. 1431.

[19] Chaufepié, art. Ziska.—Ferunt illum jussisse cadaveri suo pellem adimi, ex pelle tympanum fieri, eoque duce, bella geri; arrepturos fugam hostes quamprimum ejus tympani sonitum audiverint. Struvius, p. 702.

[20] Pfeffel, p. 585.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Expedition of Sigismund into Italy.

fathers, however, refused to comply; and Sigismund, who was at this time in Lombardy, addressed a letter to the Pope full of remonstrances against the dissolution. As if his own dominions in Germany had been at perfect peace that prince formed the design of receiving the imperial crown in Rome; and set forward, in his sixty-fourth year, upon the chivalrous enterprise of redressing the grievances of Italy. After receiving the Iron crown in Milan, Sigismund proceeded to Siena; and as Eugenius threw many difficulties in the way of his coronation, he remained there nearly a twelvemonth, beneficially employed in soothing the fierce dissensions among the Italian states. Having at length overcome the Pope's scruples, he set out for Rome,

Sigismund crowned Emperor. 31st May; 1433.

where he was crowned Emperor by Eugenius; and with some difficulty he persuaded the Pontiff to grant his confirmation of the Council of Basle. After passing through Romagna, and partaking of the splendid hospitality of the Estensi in Ferrara and the Gonzaghi[21] in Mantua, the Emperor quitted Italy, and arrived at Basle at the close of the year.[22]

Though the great objects of the council were the reformation of the Church, and the union of the Greek and Latin churches, the distracted state of Bohemia was not forgotten by the assembled fathers, and the Bohemians were invited to send ambassadors to Basle. A deputation headed by Procopius accordingly appeared before the assembly; but

[21] He created Gian-Francesco Gonzaga, *Marquis* of Mantua.

[22] Murat. Ann. 1433.—Pfeffel, p. 588.

after many warm discussions no progress appeared to have been made.[23] The Council, therefore, despatched their secretary, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, into Bohemia, where he succeeded in reconciling the Calixtines to the holy see by conceding to them the use of the sacramental cup. The Taborites continued utterly impracticable; and though time had somewhat sobered their fanaticism, all the artifices and eloquence of Sylvius were entirely wasted upon them. But the pacification of Bohemia very soon followed. The Calixtines, content with the concession, separated from the Taborites; and as the latter still continued their ravages, the Bohemian nobles united for their destruction, and entirely defeated them in a great battle, Procopius himself being amongst the slain. Sigismund was now universally acknowledged King of Bohemia, and made his triumphal entry into Prague in August 1436.[24]

End of the Hussite war. 1436.

Meanwhile another breach had taken place between the Pope and the Council. After the departure of Sigismund from Rome, the citizens burst into an insurrection, besieged Eugenius in his palace, and insisted upon exercising the civil government of the city. The Pope succeeded in escaping in

Eugenius IV. driven out of Rome. 1434.

[23] The great objects of abhorrence to the Taborites were the mendicant friars, and Procopius thus argued before the Council. "If neither Moses, nor the Patriarchs before him, nor the Prophets after him, nor Christ, nor the Apostles founded this order, it *clearly follows* that it is a work of the devil and of darkness."—The fathers received this logic with a very loud laugh. Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 190.

[24] Mosheim, vol. III. p. 451.—Pfeffel, p. 591.—Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 462.

CHAPTER XXVI.

disguise to the Tiber, where he embarked in a small vessel, whilst the Romans, discovering his flight, pursued him with vollies of arrows. He reached Ostia unhurt: and thence setting sail for Leghorn retreated to Florence, where he continued to reside nearly two years. During this time he watched with uneasiness the proceedings at Basle where every session of the fathers struck some new blow to the papal authority. As the Greek Emperor John Palæologus had intimated his intention to attend the Council in person, the Pope, who had removed to Bologna, once more objected to Basle, and proposed to transfer the assembly to Ferrara, as more convenient in situation for the expected Greeks. To this removal the fathers vehemently objected, and insisted on receiving the strangers at Basle or Avignon; and as the Pope persevered in his purpose, the council summoned him to appear before them in order to give an account of his conduct. Eugenius immediately put forth a Bull declaring the Council of Basle dissolved, and convening another at Ferrara; but the fathers, regardless of his fiat, continued their sittings; and pronounced the Pope contumacious for daring to disobey their summons.[25]

Rupture of the Pope with the Council of Basle. 1437.

Death of Sigismund. 9th Dec. 1437.

At the very commencement of this new schism, Sigismund terminated his mortal career. The close of his life was embittered by the intrigues of his Empress Barbara, a woman of infamous character, and distinguished, from her libertine conduct, by

[25] Mosheim, vol. III. p. 422.—Art de vérif. tom. I. p. 211. Dupin, col. XIII.

the appellation of the German Messalina. This abandoned woman, though in her sixtieth year, formed the design of seizing the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, and of marrying the young Uladislaus V. King of Poland, to the exclusion of Albert V. Duke of Austria, who had espoused her daughter, and whom Sigismund destined as his successor in those kingdoms. The Emperor proceeded to Znaim in Moravia, where he caused Barbara to be arrested; and having solemnly recommended Albert to his subjects, expired in the seventieth year of his age.[26] He had the advantages of a good person and prepossessing exterior; was frank and affable in his manner; and could boast acquirements considerable for the age he lived in. His personal courage was unquestioned, though almost all his wars were a series of reverses. But under an unclouded countenance and lively deportment he concealed all the dissimulation of his father; and preferred to obtain his object by deviating into crooked ways, rather than by persevering in the strait path. Little credit can he obtain from his apparent zeal for the reform of the abuses in the Church. His motive seems to have been entirely selfish; for in curtailing the enormous assumptions of the Pope, he was virtually delivering his kingdoms from the intolerable encroachments of the see of Rome.[27]

[26] Struvius, p. 714 (who attributes his death to poison).—Pfeffel, p. 593. —Coxe, p. 225.

[27] Under him the Eagle with two heads became the permanent symbol of the Empire. Pfeffel, p. 594.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GERMANY FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER XXVII.

By the death of the Emperor Sigismund, the male line of the House of Luxemburg became extinguished; and the holy Roman Empire devolved to the House of Austria; in which it remained, with one brief interruption,[1] until its final dissolution in the nineteenth century. The Electors still rejected the notion of hereditary succession, though they had so frequently been content to elect the son in the lifetime of the father. The great families of Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria, and Luxemburg, had in turn mounted the imperial throne; and the House of Hapsburg, aggrandised by the Austrian dominions, had already furnished two sovereigns to Germany. As we have now arrived at the period when the Austrian princes were permanently invested with the German crown, I shall here stop to consider the state of this great

[1] This interruption was upon the death of Charles VI. without male-issue, in 1740.—He was succeeded by Charles, Elector, of Bavaria, who reigned from 1742 to 1745.——Francis, the husband of Maria-Theresa of Austria, was then elected Emperor; and his reign may be called *her's*.

dynasty, its boundaries, and its advance towards civilization, prior to the accession of Albert II.

Germany; Its boundaries.

Before the commencement of the fifteenth century, the kingdom of Germany had materially altered its limits. The authority of the German sovereigns over Italy was merely nominal, and the greater part of the Italian states renounced all allegiance to the Emperor. On the west, a very considerable loss of territory had occurred. Great portion of the Netherlands was in the hands of independent princes; the ancient kingdom of Arles was entirely dismembered; the Swiss were gradually drawing the imperial cantons into their confederacy; Dauphiny, Provence, and the Lyonnois were united to the crown of France. The German Ocean, the Eyder, and the Baltic, on the north;—Prussia, Poland, and Hungary, on the east;—the Alps and the Rhine, on the south;—and the Jura and the Meuse, on the west,—may now be assumed as the boundaries of Germany.

The Emperor.

The civil government of the Empire was at this period vested in the Emperor and the three estates. The pomp and ceremony which surrounded the Emperors and the lofty pretensions with which they challenged the world to obedience were well contrived to create an universal idea of their grandeur and power. But in the midst of this magnificence it was easy to discover that their influence was continually on the decline, whilst the imperial revenues had dwindled down to a miserable pittance by the usurpations of the states and princes. Under Fre-

CHAPTER XXVII.

deric I. the revenue amounted to the annual sum of six million crowns; under Rodolph, including the contributions of the Italian cities, it was two millions; and at the accession of Rupert the sovereign of Germany received a smaller income than many of his bishops.[2] Instead, therefore, of the Emperors, as of old, bestowing their paternal dominions on their friends and dependents, we observe their anxiety to encrease the possessions of their house by the annexation of vacant or forfeited fiefs. Such an annexation, indeed, had once been strictly forbidden; and the Emperor was prohibited, in the thirteenth century, from enjoying an escheated fief for more than a year.[3] But the exhausted state of the imperial revenues afterwards introduced a directly opposite policy; and we find Rupert binding himself by a capitulation to retain such imperial fiefs as might become vacant by death or forfeiture.[4]

The imperial prerogative of convoking and presiding at the diets, and of conferring honours, titles, and privileges, was still conceded to the Emperor; and the donation of smaller domains was not denied him. But the Princes looked with jealousy upon the disposal of principalities and the more considerable territories. The early Emperors had exercised their liberality without restraint; and Frederic II. seized upon Austria without any sanction from the States. But the increasing anxiety

[2] Pfeffel, tom. I. pp. 439. 563. [3] Schmidt, vol. III. p. 153.
[4] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 44.

of the Princes to curb the imperial power gradually controuled the disposal of the great fiefs. Rodolph of Hapsburg, after wresting Austria from Ottocar, fortified his title by obtaining the approval of the Electors to its settlement in his family ;[5] and when Henry VII. raised Count Berthold of Heneberg to the rank of Prince, the consent of the diet was demanded.[6] And although the Golden Bull expressly declared, that on a vacancy in one of the secular electorates (Bohemia excepted), it should be disposed of by the Emperor, or King of the Romans,[7] we observe Sigismund in the disposal of Brandenburg and Saxony obtaining the consent of the other Electors.[8]

Not only was the authority of the Emperors thus sinking in temporal matters, but in ecclesiastical affairs no effort was spared by the Popes to undermine their ancient prerogative. By the Calixtine Concordat under Henry V., the imperial interference in episcopal nominations was forbidden, except in the event of a double election. This right, however, was shaken by the capitulations of Otho IV. and his successors; and though Adolphus, Rupert, and Lewis V. all exercised this privilege, the Popes on many occasions assumed the like power. Even the bishops themselves assisted in curtailing the rights of their sovereign; and many in receiving the investitures of their sees excused themselves from the ceremony of homage, which compelled them

[5] Schmidt, Book VII. c. 39. vol. IV. p. 501.
[6] Pfeffel, p. 469. [7] Cap. VII. s. 7. [8] Pfeffel, pp. 572 582. 599.

CHAPTER XXVII.

to place their sacred hands between those of an impure and blood-stained layman. One miserable remnant of their ecclesiastical authority was jealously preserved by the German monarchs, that of *First Prayers;* which empowered the Emperor on his accession to the throne to nominate a priest to a benefice in every *immediate* chapter and abbey in Germany. These prayers or recommendations were resorted to by Rodolph of Hapsburg, who treated them as an ancient and approved custom; and under his successors they became a right, in the exercise of which they experienced little opposition. Analogous to this right was that of the *Panis-brief;* which allowed the Emperor to present a layman to a prelate, abbey, or religious institution, from whose treasury this *Lay-prebendary* was provided with food and raiment.[9]

The three Estates.

The three Estates, consisted of the college of Electors, the collectors of Princes, and the Delegates of the free imperial cities.

I. The Electors;

I. We have already seen the right of prætaxation exercised by *ten* great vassals of the crown, and the means by which at the accession of Rodolph the number had been reduced to *seven.* The doubts as to the persons entitled to vote on the choice of an Emperor had been completely set at rest by the Golden Bull of Charles IV.; the election being thereby confirmed to the three archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves; and to the King of Bohemia, the

Ecclesiastical and Lay.

[9] Schmidt, Book VI. c. 18.—VII. c. 16.—Pfeffel, p. 438.

Count Palatine, the Duke of Saxe-Wittenburg, and the Margrave of Brandenburg.

1. Bohemia.

1. Bohemia, which was originally a dutchy dependent upon Germany and to which the Emperors frequently nominated the dukes, was permanently exalted into a kingdom by Philip in 1198.[10] Its consideration was further increased by Frederic II., who granted to King Premislaus the right of investing the bishops, and other privileges, on condition of his furnishing necessary escorts for the Emperor's journeys to the diets.[11] By his marriage with Elizabeth, second daughter of Wenceslaus IV., Bohemia devolved to John of Luxemburg, in whose family it remained until the extinction of the male line in 1437. The life and fortune of Charles IV. were devoted to the aggrandisement of his native country; and as he sought to render it independent of Germany, he withdrew the bishopric of Prague from the metropolitan supremacy of Mentz, raising it to an archbishopric; and gave to the Bohemians the right of electing their own king.[12] The great fiefs of Moravia, Masovia, Lusatia, and Silesia were annexed to Bohemia;[13] and the elevation of three of its kings to the imperial throne filled up the measure of its greatness.

[10] Wratislaus, Duke of Bohemia, was honoured with the kingly title by Henry IV. in 1086;—and so was Ladislaus in 1158 by Frederic I.; but in both cases the honour was merely personal, and not assumed by their immediate successors.—Art. de vérif. les Dates, tom. III. pp. 448. 450.

[11] Pfeffel, tom I. pp. 192. 246. 324. 338.

[12] Pfeffel, pp. 446. 507. 518.—Struvius, pp 641. 642.

[13] Pfeffel. pp. 216. 338. 487. 522.—Struvius, p 612.

CHAPTER XXVII.

2. The County-Palatine.

2. Whilst Bohemia was thus increasing in territory and importance, the other temporal Electors were exhausting their strength by repeated partition of their domains. The union of the Palatinate and the Dutchy of Bavaria in the person of Otho of Wittlelsbach, surnamed the Illustrious, made his family the most considerable in Germany, until the division of his estates between his sons set an example too readily followed by their descendants. The territory was thus shared by the Counts-Palatine, and the Dukes of Bavaria-Ingoldstadt, Bavaria-Landshut, and Bavaria-Munich; all of whom claimed to vote at the imperial election, until the Golden Bull excluded the dukes in favour of the Count-Palatine, the eldest branch of the family.[14]

3. Saxony.

3. Similar partitions had also diminished the consideration of the Dutchy of Saxony, after the ruin of Henry the Lion, Saxony, with the exception of the states of Brunswick, was bestowed upon Bernard of Ascania. By partition between his grandsons, Saxony was divided into Upper and Lower; the vote being fixed in the Duke of Saxe-Wittenberg, in exclusion of the house of Saxe-Lauenburg.[15]

4. Brandenburg.

1. The Margraviate of Brandenburg first be-

[14] See Appendix, Tables XXIX. XXX. XXXI.

[15] Art. de vérif. tom. III. p. 412.—Henry, second son of Bernard, created Prince of Anhalt, was also put in possession of a portion of Saxony. ibid. 137. The line of Saxe-Wittenberg became extinct in 1422, and the Dutchy was claimed by Eric IV. Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg as descended from Bernard. His claim was, however, disallowed, and the electorate bestowed in 1123 on Frederic of Misnia. ibid. 414. Pfeffel, 582. See Appendix, Table XXXII.

came an electorate under Albert of Ballenstadt, surnamed the Bear; whose descendants continued to divide it among themselves, until the race expired in 1320, with the Margrave Henry. It was then appropriated by the reigning Emperor Lewis V., and given to his son Lewis of Bavaria; whose half-brother Otho assigned it to Charles IV. In his family it continued until 1415, when the Emperor Sigismund sold it to Frederic of Hohenzollern, the ancestor of the kings of Prussia.[16]

The great princes lost no occasion of enlarging their power at the expense of the Emperors. New and important concessions were extorted as the price of their votes, so that every new election tended to the diminution of the imperial authority. The Electors, besides their own personal immunities, claimed a right to participate in conferring electorates, and to confirm alienations of the imperial domain, and even grants of privileges.[17] But the greatest and most dangerous assertion of power was that of deposing the Emperor at their discretion; a measure which originated with the ecclesiastical Electors, and, in the most remarkable cases where it had been resorted to, seemed rather dictated by personal antipathy than justified by the delinquencies of the sovereign.[18]

II. The Princes.

II. Second to these great functionaries were a numerous body of superior nobles, who composed the College of Princes. Originally, all who held

[16] Pfeffel, p. 487. 569. Appendix, Table XXXIII. XXXIV.

[17] Pfeffel, p. 438. 599.

[18] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 538.

CHAPTER XXVII.

immediately of the crown were entitled to a seat in the diets, and were scarcely inferior to the Electors except in choosing the King of the Romans. The number of Princes gradually became greatly encreased by family divisions of territory; and as no one could claim the rank of prince whose tenure was not immediate, many nobles chose to surrender into the hands of the Emperor their allodial estates, receiving them back as fiefs of the Empire. In this manner, Otho, Duke of Brunswick, and Henry, Landgrave of Hesse, obtained the rank of princes; the former surrendering the allodial lands of Brunswick and Luneburg to Frederic II. in 1236; the latter in 1292 surrendering, in the same manner, his allodial territory of Eschwegen.[19] Another vast addition to the number of princes took place on the dismemberment of the great Dutchies of Saxony and Bavaria on the fall of Henry the Lion, and those of Swabia and Franconia by the murder of the unfortunate Conradino,[20] the nobles and bishops of those districts now becoming immediate vassals of the crown.[21] But instead of these being placed on the same footing with the old immediate nobility, the great princes spared no pains to lessen their authority, and even extended their depression to others of the weaker nobles.

[19] Pfeffel, p. 354. 402. 449.

[20] Franconia was united to Swabia in the person of Conrad, brother of the Emperor Henry VI., and at his death devolved to his brother Philip. On the death of Philip, Frederic II. succeeded to both dutchies, and they lineally descended to Conradino.

[21] Pfeffel, p. 401.—Schmidt, vol. III. p. 178.

The great interregnum deprived the less powerful of the aid and countenance of their sovereign; and a broad line was drawn between the princes and the inferior, though immediate, nobles, by which the latter were excluded from the diet, and thus deprived of all participation in the government of the Empire.[22]

Their privileges.

In their own territories, the Princes enjoyed without restraint the power of declaring war and peace, together with the regalian rights of opening mines, establishing markets, fairs, and tolls, building fortresses, and coining money.[23] And as the Emperor convoked the Diet for the kingdom at large, so the Prince was assisted by his provincial council. Over the knights, judges, mediate cities, and peasants of the province, they exercised a sovereign jurisdiction; and their subjects were, in the first instance, liable to be brought before no other tribunal. The vassals were bound to do homage to the Prince at the commencement of his reign; and from him received grants of municipal and other privileges. On the other hand, laws for the government of the province required the sanction of the provincial assembly: without the concurrence of the vassals no tax or gratuity could be demanded; nor were the vassals bound to assist their Prince in any war undertaken without their approbation.[24]

The great fiefs being admitted to be hereditary, the Princes assumed the power of disposal, without respect to the Emperor's reversionary rights. They divided the lands amongst the members of the

[22] Pfeffel, p. 401. [23] Pfeffel, p. 370. 600. [24] Schmidt, Book VII. c. 40.

CHAPTER XXVII.

family, a course no wise displeasing to the Emperor; since every division, by weakening the vassal, tended to strengthen the sovereign. The fiefs were even suffered to descend to females: but what most deeply trenched upon the imperial rights were those treaties of *confraternity* or reciprocal succession; by which princes of several houses mutually agreed, in case of the extinction of one house, to vest the possession of its territories in the other.[25]

III. Imperial cities.

III. Before the end of the thirteenth century, the free imperial Cities of Germany became a constituent part of the government, and appeared by their representatives in the general Diet. The progress of cities from the reign of Henry V., who imparted privileges to the citizens and admitted the artisans to the rank of freemen, had been remarkably rapid. During the reigns of the earlier German princes, almost every city was subjected to the bishop of the district, whose stewards and ministers ground the inhabitants by intolerable burthens and exactions. The example of Henry was not neglected by his successors: and even a few bishops anticipated the good work of the Emperors by discontinuing some of the most odious extortions. But as yet nothing like a municipal government prevailed amongst the citizens; they were still under the controul of the bishop and his bailiff, and exposed to arbitrary harshness and tyranny.[26] Another circumstance existed unfavourable to the rise of the artisans of the cities: the ancient freemen beheld them with jealousy, excluded them from

Rise and progress of the Cities.

[25] Pfeffel, p. 404—Schmidt, vol. IV. 534. [26] Schmidt, Book V. ch. 12.

office, and disdained to ally themselves with their families.[27] The industry of these despised mechanics triumphed over every difficulty; and their numbers were swelled by the continued arrival of fugitive slaves and necessitous strangers. Scarcely had Adolphus, Count of Holstein, laid the foundations of the city of Lubeck ere a multitude of traders, attracted by the advantages of its situation, flocked thither from all directions. The city soon grew to such commercial consequence as to command the notice of the Italians, and the merchants of Lubeck traded in the Mediterranean in Genoese vessels. In the next century, Riga was fortified by a wall, and, together with Hamburg and Bremen, increased in commerce and wealth. Brunswick maintained a commercial intercourse with England; from the ruins of Mecklenburg arose the new city of Wismar; and an excellent harbour for the largest vessels soon made it a great resort of foreign traders. The ships of the German citizens continually multiplied on the Baltic; colonies were sent into various parts of Prussia, now subdued by the Teutonic knights; and the German language and produce were carried into Livonia, Pomerania, Sclavonia, and Transylvania. Thus the stimulus being given, communication was opened with Europe and even Asia and Egypt, and the increasing wants of the Germans were supplied by importations from distant countries.[28]

1140.

Their trade and commerce.

[27] Pfeffel, p. 405.

[28] Schmidt, Book VI. c. 12.—Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. I. pp. 338. 387. 392.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Their government.

The internal constitution of the cities now underwent a complete revolution. Notwithstanding the violent opposition of the bishops, the citizens gradually felt themselves sufficiently strong to order their own government. Instead of submitting to the tyranny of the episcopal bailiff, they chose from their own body a Burgomaster and Council; and supported by the majority of the community these new officers undertook the internal management of the city. The various trades were ranged into different companies or guilds; and the ancient freemen became happy to enrol their names amongst those of the once-despised artisans. Many of the mediate cities extricated themselves from the jurisdiction of their lords; and the extinction of the dutchies of Swabia and Franconia emancipated others from all vassalage except that immediately due to the Emperor.[29] A distinction, however, was preserved between those which anciently belonged to the Empire, and those recently enfranchised from mediate subjection; the former being termed *Free* and *Imperial;* the latter, simply *Imperial.*[30]

Their increase.

The perpetual private warfare which agitated Germany, although at first detrimental to the rising cities, ultimately proved advantageous to them. Many of the rural nobility sought security by incorporation with the citizens, and were admitted to a share in the municipal government. The benefits derivable from this civic alliance tempted inferior persons to court their protection, though not ac-

[29] Schmidt, ub. sup. c. 15. vol. III. p. 188.

[30] Pfeffel, p. 406.

Pfahlburgers and Ausburgers.

tually domiciled within the walls. Such were the Pfahlburgers and Ausburgers; the former being the vassals of some lord, whose jurisdiction they endeavoured to avoid by obtaining the freedom of the city and settling themselves within the faubourgs;—the latter admitted to the privileges of citizens, but continuing to reside upon their farms.[31] Against a defection so injurious to the lords Frederic II. had vainly strived to provide; and the Golden Bull expressly forbad the practice. To enforce these prohibitions, however, was a difficulty few lords would incur, since the fugitive was sure of the support of the city and its allies.

But the wars and excesses of the nobles brought about a more substantial benefit to the commerce and cities of Germany than the adhesion of powerless counts and fugitive dependents, by the establishment of the celebrated League of the Rhine, and the far more celebrated League of the Hanse-towns. Throughout Germany, but especially on the banks and in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, had arisen a multitude of fortified castles, so that every hill and mountain was crowned by a fortress. These had originally been intended to check foreign invasion, or protect the owners in domestic

[31] Such is the definition of Pfeffel (p. 368), adopted by Mr. Hallam (vol II. p. 128). According to Schmidt (vol. III. p. 189), the *Pfahlburgers* continued to reside on their lord's domain, but claimed exemption from taxes, &c.; whilst the Ausburgers claimed no kind of exemption. Schmidt's definition of Pfahlburger is certainly countenanced by the sixteenth chapter of the Golden Bull; but no mention there occurs of Ausburgers; so that probably the distinction sprang up after the publication of that law.

CHAPTER XXVII.

warfare. But the security afforded by these strong holds tempted their masters to a system of depredation; and the German nobles and knights of the middle ages are branded with the name of robbers.[32] Even those who were deterred from avowing a system of plunder, pilfered the property of defenceless travellers under pretence of tolls, or customs, or pledges. The very clergy abandoned themselves to this iniquitous practice; and we are told of an archbishop of Cologne, who pointed out to his seneschal the four roads converging to his newly-erected castle, as the readiest means of supplying it with a revenue.[33] Covered by their massive walls and secure in their inaccessible towers, these noble freebooters bad defiance to justice, and interposed a serious check to the intercourse and commerce of the kingdom.

League of the Rhine. 1247.

To correct this monstrous evil, a confederacy was formed about the year 1247 between the principal cities of the Rhine, headed by the three spiritual Electors; and measures were concerted for the preservation of the public against the violence of the knights and nobles.[34] About the same period, a

League of the Hanse-towns. 1241.

still more extensive league was entered into by the commercial cities of the north of Germany to protect themselves as well from the outrages of the nobles as from the pirates who infested the Baltic. This great association, known as the League of the Hanse-towns, originated with Lubeck, and soon included as many as eighty cities. The management

[32] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 395. [33] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 466. [34] Pfeffel, p. 382.

of their affairs was entrusted to Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic, the first being considered as head of the League. Their factories were to be found in Novogorod, Bergen, Bruges, and London:[35] they maintained trade with Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Poland, to the exclusion of all other nations. They compelled Philip IV. of France to forbid the importation of English goods; besieged Lisbon with a fleet of a hundred vessels; obliged England to purchase peace by the payment of ten thousand pounds; and exercised unbounded influence in the commerce and wars of Europe.[36]

The imperial cities admitted to the Diet.

It can scarcely excite surprise that so influential a portion of the community should be invited to participate in the national councils. The period

[35] Pfeffel, p. 359. 407. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. I. pp. 404. 417. 694. The merchants of Cologne established (1220) a hall or factory in London called their Guild-hall, for which they paid thirty marks to King John, ibid. 383. Henry III. (1235) exempted them from all dues, and gave them permission to attend fairs in England, p. 484. This prince also granted, at the request of his brother Richard, King of the Romans, a charter to the merchants of Germany (1259), who had a factory in London. The articles imported by them were, wheat, rye, and other grain; cables, cordage, masts, pitch, tar, hemp, linen, wainscot, wax, steel, &c. p. 411. The merchants of Lubeck also had a charter of privileges in England, into which country Rhenish wines were imported. pp. 417. 512. From Edward IV. the Hanse-merchants of the *Still-Yard* (improperly written *Steel-Yard)* obtained a confirmation of their privileges, and the absolute property in their premises next the Teutonic Guild-hall in London; as well as premises at Boston and Lynne. See Statute 19 Henry VII. c. 23; Spelman's Glossary, Art. *Geldum*, and *Gilda*; Macpherson's Annals, vol. I. p. 691. and notes; and Henry's Hist. of Great Britain, vol. VI. p. 281. VIII. p. 326. X. p. 239.

[36] Schmidt, vol. III. p. 120.—The passage round the Cape proved ruinous to their commerce: in the sixteenth century the league was entirely dissolved, and Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg alone retained the name of Hanseatic cities. Macpherson; and Pfeffel, tom I. p. 407.

CHAPTER XXVII.

when the imperial cities were *first* admitted to the Diet is a question involved in darkness; but as early as Henry VII. very distinct traces occur of their forming part of that assembly. From that time they appear to have been summoned upon every question of importance; and even to have assumed the right of rejecting the decisions of the two superior colleges, unless sanctioned by their approbation.[37] Their deliberations were held apart in a separate chamber, and the result communicated to the Electors and Princes.[38]

The Diet.

At the summons of the Emperor, the three estates were bound, under penalty, to meet at the appointed place and time; and the Electors and Princes carried on their deliberations in the same chamber. It was reserved for the Diet, in concert with the Emperor, to make war and peace, as well as alliances in the name of the Empire; to establish tribunals for the whole of Germany; to make laws for the kingdom at large; to adjudge the causes of their peers; to authorize the collation of the great fiefs; and to take measures for the general tranquillity. In them also resided the power of levying taxes and granting subsidies to the Emperor; a power very sparingly exercised; and on one occasion we find the delegates of the cities withholding their concurrence in a grant until they were furnished with authority from home.[39]

Originally these meetings were celebrated with

[37] Schmidt, Book VII. c. 41. vol. III. p. 517. [38] Pfeffel, pp. 509. 597.
[39] Pfeffel, p. 599.—Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 300.

great pomp and ceremony, and the numerous cavalcade attendant on the Emperor and Princes gave importance to the meeting, though the public peace might be thereby endangered. The nobles vied with each other in the number of their retinue and the splendour of their appointments. At a meeting of the Princes at Frankfort in 1397 the Landgrave of Hesse appeared with a train of five hundred horses; and the two Margraves of Brandenburg, with twelve hundred. Upon this occasion, Leopold III. Duke of Austria, proclaimed his table open to all comers, and daily distributed forage for four thousand horses. But in later times the attendance at the Diet was regarded as a heavy burthen; and the Princes sought to excuse themselves from a long and expensive journey. The Dukes of Austria obtained from Frederic I. an exemption from appearing in the Diet, unless at their own pleasure; and as the Princes grew in greatness in their own dominions, they shunned a meeting where their individual importance was lost in collision with their peers.[40] After the accession of the House of Luxemberg, the Emperors rarely attended. Charles IV. and his son Wenceslaus continually resided in their Bohemian territories; and Sigismund passed the greater part of his time in Hungary. Though this Emperor frequently convened the Diet he seldom appeared at the appointed time, so that before his arrival the princes had returned to their dominions: and few troubled themselves to obey the next citation.

[40] Schmidt, vol. III. p. 174.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Sometimes the proclaimed place of meeting furnished an excuse for non-attendance; and a summons to Hungary, or even to Vienna, met with little attention.[41]

Such were the three orders which composed the great national council. It remains to notice the rest of the German community. And first, the Clergy.

The Clergy.

The intimate connexion between the Popedom and the Empire, and the shortsighted policy of the Emperors in raising up the Church as a rival and check to the secular nobility, effectually conduced to give the priesthood pre-eminence over the other classes. The Church predominated in every position. Her archbishops formed a great proportion of the electoral college: her bishops and abbots were in the foremost rank of princes. Her wealth was vast and increasing; and by extensive purchases of territory she numbered nobles among her vassals. Instances even occur of nobles selling their estates to bishops upon condition of receiving them back again as fiefs. Such an arrangement secured a certain benefit to the Church: during the continuance of the feudatory's race, the see was fortified by a champion and protector; and if the family were by chance extinguished the vacant fief escheated to the undying corporation.[42]

Their immunity.

A point for which the Clergy successfully struggled, was immunity from secular tribunals in criminal as well as civil matters. By Henry VII. and

[41] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 204.

[42] Schmidt, vol. III. pp. 177. 287.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Their jurisdiction.

Charles IV. this important privilege was confirmed and enforced.[43] Their jurisdiction over their vassals was also admitted in exclusion of secular courts; and even where the litigants were not their subjects, the connexion of the matter in dispute with religion or conscience was set up as a pretext for withdrawing it from the lay-judges. A mischievous collision between authorities was hereby introduced; and the corruptions which prevailed in the episcopal courts increased the evil. The frequent absence of the bishops upon affairs of state induced them to delegate their judicial functions to their archdeacons; and these again entrusted the decision of causes to their subordinate agents, whose greedy extortions from the suitors brought the ecclesiastical tribunals into universal odium.[44]

Powerful and wealthy as were the German bishops, their lives were not passed in the repose and placidity befitting christian prelates. Though the bishop threw off the obligation of following his sovereign to the wars, yet in his own territories he was either by necessity or inclination, a captain and a warrior. The system of private warfare perpetually involved him in dispute and confusion; and the secular and spiritual Lords mutually accused one another of stirring up these disastrous contentions. To lead into the field a body of armed soldiers was deemed nowise incompatible with the ecclesiastical functions, and sometimes the coat of

[43] Pfeffel, p. 534.—Schmidt, vol. III. p. 294.

[44] Schmidt, vol. III. p. 279. IV. p. 628.

CHAPTER XXVII.

mail lurked under the episcopal cassock. The growth of cities in their dioceses added much to the turmoils of the bishops; and resistance to the struggles of the citizens for freedom and independence produced sanguinary results. No wonder, therefore, if the lives of the German prelates present little else than the reduction of turbulent neighbours and vassals, and the continued demolition and construction of fortified castles.[45]

Papal encroachments.

Whilst the repose of the Church was thus troubled at home, its patronage and wealth were unceasingly endangered by the encroachments of the see of Rome. In defiance of ancient usage and the express letter of the Calixtine concordat, the Popes persisted in assuming the right of nominating archbishops, bishops, and prebendaries. Even where the chapters were suffered to elect, the archbishop was compelled to seek the papal confirmation and receive the pallium from Rome, before his election was deemed complete; and though the bishops were required to obtain the confirmation of their metropolitan, this was often rendered unnecessary by the intervention of the Pope, who chose himself to approve the nomination. In the plenitude of their power the Roman Pontiffs pronounced their right to *Reservations* and *Expectatives*, by which the chapter were altogether deprived of their presentation, or their choice was anticipated. This arbitrary assumption had not been established without opposition; and scenes of

Reservations and Expectatives.

[45] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 601.

bloodshed were sometimes enacted in the struggle between the nominees of the Pope and the chapter. But so completely had the usurpations of Rome prevailed over the rights of Germany, that in the fourteenth century an instance was cited of a cathedral endowed with thirty prebends, where, within twenty years, thirty-five vacancies had occurred, two only of which had been filled up by the lawful patron. By such means, men wholly unworthy were thrust into benefices: unacquainted with the language of the country, they could impart no consolation to their flock; their visits were short and unfrequent; and sometimes the incumbent never beheld the church of which he was careful to draw the revenues. Nor where the prelate or prebendary had been duly elected and confirmed, was he secure in the enjoyment of his dignity; since the displeasure of the see of Rome might at once remove him from his benefice; it being assumed as a maxim, that the Pope had authority to depose any ecclesiastic, however exalted his rank.[46]

The revenues of the bishops were severely injured by the taxes imposed by the Popes. The Church had long asserted the principle, that she was compellable to make no involuntary contribution even to the necessities of the State. The Crusades had first given the Popes an excuse for

[46] Schmidt, Book VI. chap. 19. Book VII. c. 44. 47. An attempt by Pope Gregory IX. in 1231 to establish the Inquisition in Germany excited great alarm for three years, at the end of which time the papal inquisitor was murdered; and no serious effort was afterwards made to renew this odious institution. Ibid. vol. III. p. 314.

CHAPTER XXVII.

calling on the clergy to contribute towards the general welfare; and the example of draining the clerical coffers was not lost on the temporal princes. But these occasional levies did not satisfy the avarice of the Roman Pontiffs; and what was once deemed an abuse in the head of the Empire became lawful for the head of the Church. It had been usual for the Emperors, as well as other sovereigns of Europe, to seize upon the property of deceased prelates, and to enjoy the revenues of the bishopric until the appointment of a successor. This right, or rather assumption, had been attended with enormous abuses, and at the behest of the see of Rome the German monarchs were content to forego so profitable a source of enrichment. But scarcely had the Church been freed from this imperial spoliation ere the Popes stept in to snatch the forbidden treasure. Not content with the property of the deceased bishop and the revenues of the vacant see, they insisted on receiving from the new incumbent of every clerical benefice one whole year's income; the first appropriation being known as *jus spolii*; the second, as *fructus medii temporis*; and the last by the new title of *Annates*.[47] These grievous exactions had been matter of grave consideration with the fathers of the council of Basle;

Annates.

[47] Schmidt, vol. III. p. 295.—vol. IV. p. 92. Annates are usually attributed to John XXII. (ante, p. 488): though Platina gives their origin to Boniface IX. These exactions were visited on the rest of Europe (see Hallam, vol. II. c. VII.); but Germany never seems to have been favoured by the Popes; and according to Schmidt (vol IV p. 124), Conrad, Archbishop of Mentz, was the only German Cardinal created prior to the fourteenth century.

and notwithstanding the loud protests of the Pope and his legates, the twenty-first session of that assembly abolished annates, declaring all who demanded or paid them liable to the penalties of simony. This decree was soon afterwards followed by another, denying the papal authority to present to foreign benefices, and annulling reservations and expectatives.[48]

Whilst in other countries preferment in the Church has ever been open to merit, and many eminent prelates have emerged from indigence and obscurity, the Germans appear anxiously to have shut out from the higher clerical offices all who could not boast of noble or knightly descent. From the prebends of Strasburg every person, not noble, was expressly excluded, and other cathedral-institutions maintained the same absurd and illiberal restrictions. Sometimes, indeed, superior merit broke through the barrier of exclusion, and in the twelfth century, Ludolph, the son of a peasant, became Archbishop of Magdeburg.[49] But whilst the higher churchmen might vaunt their nobility, the inferior benefices were shamefully disposed of. Intent only upon gain, the sordid patron bargained for a share of the revenues; and the clerk who was willing to relinquish the largest sum was certain to obtain the living.[50] It is hard to say whether the workings of pride were less mischievous than those of avarice.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the grand

[48] Schmidt, vol. IV. Book VII. c. 17.—Art de vérif. tom. I. p. 211.

[49] Schmidt, vol. III. p. 266.

[50] Schmidt, vol. III. p. 273.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Inferior Nobles.

distinction in the German community was between the nobles and the people. But as the consideration of the inferior nobles decreased and the citizens rose in importance, the descendants of illustrious families adopted arms and crests on their shields helmets, and seals, the devices of the several princes with whom they claimed kindred.[51] Meanwhile an order of men had sprung up, in which even kings deemed it an honour to be enrolled. Though the German Knights of the middle ages have been less famous than those of France and Spain, it seems agreed that Chivalry had its origin in Germany. Without recurring to the age of Tacitus when the young warrior was publicly invested with his shield and javelin,[52] the education of the German youth was well calculated to originate such an institution. From their earliest years, the nobles were taught to turn and wind their fiery steeds, and their extraordinary skill in this manly accomplishment commanded the admiration of foreigners. In the wars of Charlemagne against the Huns, the cavalry had been chiefly relied on; and in proportion as the foot-soldier decreased in reputation that of the horseman was augmented. That any particular ceremonies were thus early prescribed for the initiation of the mounted warrior, appears not with any degree of clearness, though traces may be distinctly seen of the prince or suzerain-lord investing

Knights.

[51] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 132. vol. III. p. 183.

[52] See Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 37.—Stuart's View of Society, chap. II. s. 4. p. 43.—and Hallam, vol. III. p. 479.

the aspirant with his arms. But whilst the high-born knights of France and Spain devoted themselves to God and the ladies, and prided themselves on their justice, their courtesy, and their sense of honour, the chivalry of Germany appears little entitled to lay claim to these exalted virtues. Nothing is to be found of that enthusiastic adoration of the female sex which so pre-eminently characterized the knights of France. The castles of the Germans were filled with the spoils of the traveller and the merchant; the daughters of their neighbours and vassals were dishonoured in their libertine embraces; and they resembled rather the giants and monsters of Romance than the gallant deliverers of helpless captives, and the protectors of disconsolate damsels.[53] Even in the hour of victory, their avarice triumphed over their humanity; and they loaded their prisoners with fetters and immured them in dungeons, the more certainly to extort an exorbitant ransom.[54]

But to the merit of personal courage the German knights laid irresistible claim, and the jousts and tournaments, which in other countries were but dangerous sports, were here perpetual scenes of bloodshed and slaughter. Not content with the ordinary perils of these trials of skill, they frequently laid aside all defensive armour save their shields and helmets, and with sharply-pointed lances

[53] Schmidt, vol. I. p. 547.—vol. II. p. 92.—vol. III. p. 105.—vol. IV. p. 462.

[54] Froissart, vol. II. chap. 161.

CHAPTER XXVII.

encountered each other in deadly conflict. The applause of the spectators and the smiles and favours of their ladies rewarded the adventurous conquerors; yet it may be reasonably feared that the repetition of such sanguinary spectacles would infuse into the gentler sex an ungenial spirit of ferocity. Against these mortal encounters the clergy vainly lifted their voices; for it was the recreation, not of ordinary knights but, of the most illustrious nobles and princes. In one respect the practice was beneficial; since he who was branded with treachery or rapine was denied the privilege of signalizing his valour in these honourable contentions.[55]

Gentry.

Inferior to the nobles and knights were the Gentry; or the landholders, not vassals of the Empire, but of some prince or state; and the Ministerials, who exercised some reputable office under the bishops or princes. These composed a highly honourable order, and were distinguished as the *Equestrian* body. In the fifteenth century the ministerial office fell into general disuse, and the gentry began to assume the title and state of nobility. To preserve themselves distinct from these self-created magnates, the inferior nobles of ancient descent contrived to obtain imperial diplomas, constituting them Counts or Lords of the Empire.[56]

[55] Schmidt, vol. III. p. 106.—vol. IV. p. 460.—The more dangerous kind of tilting was called *Sharfrennen*; and in the fifteenth century, Albert III. Margrave of Brandenburg (surnamed Achilles) was mad enough to expose himself to this wanton risk of life no less than seventeen times. Æneas Sylvius, apud Schmidt.

[56] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 266. 409. tom. II. p. 56.—Charles IV. was the first Emperor who granted letters of nobility, ibid. 536.

I have already had occasion to notice the growth of another class of the community, the Burgesses and Artizans of the cities. So great progress had their importance made, that as early as Frederic I. we find principal citizens advanced to the dignity of knighthood. The admission of the deputies of imperial cities to the Diet gave them a rank little short of nobility; and even the mediate towns often rose in arms, and dictated terms to the lords who claimed their fealty.[57]

Burgesses.

As the great distinction in the German community was between the nobles and the people, so amongst the people was the distinction between the free and the servile. Next to those who had the happiness to be freeborn were the *Freedmen*, whom the indulgence or caprice of their masters relieved from the more galling miseries of thraldom. But though the Freedman was thus imperfectly emancipated, he formed a middle grade between the Freeman and the Slave. He was capable of possessing property; but was bound to pay a certain rent, or perform a certain service, to the lord. He was forbidden to marry without the lord's assent; and he and his children were affixed to the farm they cultivated.[58] A yet lower class were the Slaves, or Serfs, who were employed in menial or agricultural services; themselves and their earnings being the absolute property of their master, and entirely at his dis-

Freedmen. (Freygelassenen.)

Slaves. (Kneckte.)

[57] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 311. Schmidt, vol. III. p. 65.

[58] Schmidt, vol. I. p. 595.—This mitigated servitude was called *Lidum*, and the Freedman, Lidus, Leud, or Latt. The Lidus of an ecclesiastical master was called Colonus. Spelman's Glossary.

CHAPTER XXVII.

posal. The number of these miserable beings was gradually increased by the wars with the Sclavonic nations, and the sale of their prisoners was one great object of traffic in the German fairs and markets.[59] But a variety of causes combined to wear out this abominable system; and as civilization advanced, the severities of slavery diminished; so that its extinction was nearly accomplished before the fourteenth century. It was easily discovered that in agriculture the labour of a voluntary hireling was more productive than that obtained by compulsion; and the manufactures of the towns were better and cheaper than the menial slaves could produce at home. To the growth of the cities the abolition of slavery was in a great measure attributable; and the example of enfranchising the artisans set by Henry V., and followed by emperors and bishops, invited the slaves or serfs to take refuge within these privileged walls. Under the Franconian Emperors a slave who fled to Spires acquired his freedom, unless reclaimed by his master within two years; and it gradually grew into a maxim that a fugitive serf became free, if he resided unmolested in a city for a year and a day.[60] But though the condition of the lower classes was thus ameliorated, the German peasantry were by no means free from oppression, but subjected to excessive tributes to their lords and heavy taxes to

[59] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 155.—The common price of a slave of either sex was a mark (eight ounces) of silver; the beauty of the females sometimes raised it to thrice that sum. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol I. p. 279.

[60] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 267.—In Ratisbon, however, *ten* years' residence was required.

the province. The taxes, indeed, though nominally levied on the community, fell principally upon the peasants, who possessed no voice in the provincial assembly; whilst the nobles, the clergy, and the citizens were enabled, by themselves or their representatives, to protect their own interests, and lighten their own burthens.[61]

Administration of Justice.

Amidst these various grades, all had experienced the pernicious effects of private warfare, that species of "wild justice," by which men sought to maintain their rights and redress their injuries. To correct this evil had been the professed endeavour of succeeding Emperors; but an important desideratum was still wanting, a great and permanent national tribunal, where justice might be in all cases administered by the head of the Empire or his appointed judges. Under Charlemagne, we have already seen that the Palatine Count was charged with administering justice in the name of the Emperor. But as this officer was part of the imperial retinue, great inconvenience and delay were occasioned by the perpetual removal of the court from one extremity of the Empire to another.[62] Accordingly, in the tenth century, we find other

[61] Schmidt, vol. III. p. 194. vol. IV. pp. 588. 594.

[62] For the guidance of the judges attached to the imperial court, there was a code of laws, under the title of Leges Palatinæ. Another code appears to have been introduced about the eleventh century, formed jointly by the Emperor and the States in the Diets, distinguished by the title of Jus Cæsarium. Some vague notion of the Jus Gentium also prevailed: and Pfeffel (tom. I. p. 269.) concludes, from the use of this expression in a record of Henry, IV, that at that time the *feudal* law had not made its way into Germany.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Counts-Palatine officiating in the provinces, and there administering justice in the name of the sovereign. As the growth of power among the princes by degrees curtailed the imperial authority, we observe the functions of the Counts Palatine assumed by the great vassals of the Empire, who insisted on dispensing justice within their own limits according to the law of the district. As the supersession of the Palatine judges had been followed by increased disorder and the multiplication of challenges and private warfare, Frederic II. appointed a supreme judge of the Imperial Court, who was selected from among the nobility and retained his office for a year, sitting daily, and exercising jurisdiction over all causes, except such as concerned the life, the dignity, or the fiefs, of pre-eminent nobles, the cognizance of which was reserved to the Emperor. This imperial court, having fallen into decay during the anarchy which followed the death of Frederic, was revived by Rodolph of Hapsburg; an imperial judge was once more appointed, with power to decide between the inferior nobles and people, but without any jurisdiction over the states and higher nobility. But as this tribunal accompanied the person of the sovereign, the same inconvenience was felt as existed in the time of Charlemagne; although Rodolph and his immediate successors occasionally visited the provinces for the purpose of settling these important disputes. The protracted residence of Charles IV. in Bohemia caused this court to be

The Imperial Court. 1235.

1285.

neglected; more especially as the Golden Bull recognized the jurisdiction of the Electors within their own provinces. By the grant of privileges *de non evocando*, the subjects of many other states were exempted from its authority; so that, during the reign of the House of Luxemburg, this imperial court became a nullity.[63]

Though competent tribunals still existed in the provinces, where judgment might be awarded against inferior nobles and less important persons, the disputes of the States and Princes were high matter, and could only be settled by their peers under the immediate superintendence of the Emperor. In the vacancy of the Empire or absence of the Emperor, no adequate remedy existed for those great disorders which so frequently overthrew the public peace of Germany. During the interregnum, therefore, which followed the reign of Richard of Cornwall, many of the States endeavoured to quell the disturbances by concluding among themselves a league for public peace, by which they constituted themselves reciprocally arbitrators of their own differences, and established a new jurisdiction, or *Austrag*, which long continued in force in Germany.[64] Sigismund, moreover, remodelled the imperial court, with the title of the Imperial Chamber, to which he gave power to adjudge, in the first instance, the causes of the States and all matters

1271.

The Austrag.

The Imperial Chamber of Sigismund.

[63] Pfeffel, tom. I. pp. 353. 433. 536. tom. II. p. 64.—Schmidt, Book VI. c. 14. vol. III. p. 152. vol. IV. p. 328.

[64] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 416.—Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 507.

CHAPTER XXVII.

touching the public peace; and which he constituted as a court of appeal from the other inferior tribunals.[65] Still, however, the good work was far from completed, since the place of the Chamber and the continuance of its sittings were alike uncertain, and entirely dependent upon the caprice of the Emperor.

Anomalies and abuses in the law.

In addition to other defects, great abuses, anomalies, and absurdities prevailed in the mode of conducting judicial proceedings. Such various systems of jurisprudence had been recognized throughout the Empire, that men scarcely knew whether their causes were to be decided according to the ancient German codes, or the customs of a particular district, or the Canons of the Roman Church, or the Pandects of Justinian. The introduction of the canon and civil law had superseded the primitive simplicity of the judgments, where the prince or his delegate decided according to the merits of the particular case, or in compliance with the "Mirrors of Justice" which preserved the ancient laws and customs of Saxony and Swabia.[66] Few men were capable of grappling with the refinement of the Roman codes unless duly educated to their practice; and a host of jurists, advocates, proctors, and notaries, gradually pushed their way into the German tribunals. The system by which the judges were remunerated was a still more serious

[65] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 595. tom. II. 64.

[66] The Sachsenspiegel and Schwabenspiegel, which appear to have been compiled in the thirteenth century.

evil. Instead of receiving a stipend from the prince whom he represented, the minister of the law frequently rented his office, and derived the profits of his place from fees and taxes levied on the suitors, or fines imposed upon delinquents. To encourage, rather than check, litigation became, therefore, his interest.[67]

Compurgation.

The Germans, in the conduct of their trials both civil and criminal, admitted, like other northern nations, of Compurgation, and the judgment of God by Ordeal or single Combat. A defendant was permitted to discharge himself of debt by his own denial on oath, fortified by the oaths of some few of his neighbours. Even where an offence was fixed upon a criminal by the testimony of witnesses, he was allowed to clear himself by oath, provided he were not taken in the manner. This absurd invitation to perjury was not, however, permitted where the offender was detected in the fact; his own confession, or the evidence of others, was then conclusive against him. If the accused were deemed infamous, the purgation by oath was denied him, and his innocence could only be established by the Ordeal of Fire or Water, or by the more favourite trial of single Combat with his accuser.[68] The criminal code of the Germans, which once prescribed a pecuniary compensation for almost every offence, became severe and sanguinary; and the gibbet or the rack was the certain punishment of

Ordeal.

Judicial Combat.

[67] Schmidt, vol. III. p. 209. vol. IV. pp. 331. 560.

[68] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 436. vol. III. p. 213.

CHAPTER XXVII.

crimes against the life or dwelling of another. Magic and Heresy were expiated by burning; and the prince or judge, who refused to take cognizance of the last offence, was subject to the severest penalties. He who incurred the Ban of the Empire might be put to death at any man's pleasure; and the lesser Ban, or Ban of the province, exposed the party to seizure, and such punishment as a judge might award.[69]

The Ban.

The Wehmic Court.

In the ordinary administration of criminal justice, the accused had the advantage of knowing, and being confronted with, his accuser.[70] But during the thirteenth century, a tribunal was suffered to grow up to a terrific magnitude, which by its mysterious and sanguinary proceedings filled Germany with distrust and terrour. On the ruin of Henry the Lion in 1182 and the consequent division of his estates, Westphalia fell to the lot of the archbishop of Cologne; and the Westphalian, or Wehmic, Court appears soon afterwards to have had its origin. This terrible tribunal, which assumed an independence of all others by the name of the "Free Court," was permanently established at Dortmund, and by degrees extended its branches throughout other provinces. The repeated distrac-

[69] Schmidt, vol. III. pp. 212. 215. The punishments were quaintly divided into two classes; neck and hand; and hide and hair (Hals und Hand; Haut und Haar); under the first, the criminal lost his life or his hand; under the second, he was whipped and had his head shaved;—no light punishment, when we recollect how much the Germans prided themselves on their flowing yellow locks.

[70] Schmidt, p. 213.

tion of Germany favoured its growth, and the Emperors omitted to discourage an institution which promised them the means of over-awing their turbulent vassals. The judicial proceedings of the Wehmic Court were involved in the profoundest darkness and only known to the initiated, who were bound to secrecy by the most dreadful imprecations. Its sittings were sometimes held in the open field, but more frequently in the gloom of some dismal vault. The crimes principally brought before it were heresy, magic, rape, theft, robbery, and murder. A single accuser's oath was sufficient to draw the accused within its power; and a notice suspended to his dwelling first intimated his danger to the devoted wretch. If he appeared to this dreadful summons he was still kept in ignorance of his accuser, and was bound to clear himself of the accusation; and neglect to appear, or failure of acquittal, equally exposed him to the vengeance of the Wehmic fraternity. After condemnation for default, or on a mock-trial, the initiated were at liberty to put him to death wherever he might be found; he was to be suspended, not to the gallows but, to a tree; and resistance authorized his pursuer to shed his blood, leaving the dagger in the wound, in token that the deed had been perpetrated by the authority of the "Free Court."[71]

[71] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 36. tom. II. p. 17. Art de vérif. tom. I. p. 555.—I have vainly searched Struvius and Schmidt, who barely hint at the existence of the Wehmic Court; and I have derived what little I have

CHAPTER XXVII.

Military System.

The military system of Germany assumed nothing like organization prior to the sixteenth century. The ancient feudal obligation, which compelled the vassal to attend his lord to the wars, gradually faded away; and the ruinous expense of supporting a force thus composed suggested the expedience of a hired body of men, which might be raised and disbanded at pleasure. To the lance and sword of the Germans, the Crusades had added the arrows of the Turks; and the murderous ravages of the crossbow provoked the vain remonstrance of the Popes. The German ingenuity supplied the army with various engines for their sieges; and machines for hurling enormous stones and heavy javelins were successfully tried under the Frederics in their wars with the Italian cities.[72]

Literature and Science.

Of all the great European nations, Germany made the slowest advances in the paths of Literature and Science. In the disastrous confusion which followed the death of Charlemagne, the few Germans who could pretend to learning were neglected and forgotten; and when a new stimulus was given to application, the course of study ran through a barren and unprofitable field. Schools, indeed, were to be found in the tenth and eleventh centuries at Paderborn, Bamberg, Wurtzburg, and Liege; in the cloisters of the first cathedral,

gleaned upon the subject, principally from the Conversations Lexicon (Art Femgerichte), which refers to a work of Paul Wigan, published at Hanau in 1825, a book quite beyond my reach. There is a striking scene illustrative of this Court in Goethe's "Goetz von Berlichingen," Act V. s. II.

[72] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 445. vol. III. pp. 174–180.

Horace, the great Virgil,[73] Sallust, and Statius, were known and respected, and a nun of Gandersheim excited astonishment by her familiar acquaintance with Terence and the composition of some *sacred* dramas after the model of his comedies. Even the Greek was not wholly unknown; and Archbishop Bruno, brother of Otho I. was celebrated for his proficiency in that language. But though amid the silence of monastic seclusion these agreeable and meritorious pursuits might be indulged in, the greater number of those who pretended to learning wasted their energies in less profitable occupation. The German students betook themselves to the Universities of Paris or Bologna, where their understandings were bewildered in theological controversies, or encumbered with the Physics of Aristotle and the Edicts of Justinian. Though the *seven* liberal arts were professedly the objects of admiration, the niceties of

[73] Viguit Horatius, *magnus* et Virgilius, Crispus ac Sallustius, et urbanus Statius. Vita S. Meinwerci. Virgil, however, owed his reputation, not so much to his poetry as to his extraordinary skill in magic. Having founded the city of Naples, he collected all the serpents of the neighbourhood and shut them up in one of the city gates. He built a slaughter-house in which the meat remained perfectly fresh for six weeks. He stationed a brazen bowman opposite Vesuvius, and the arrow discharged against the mountain caused it to vomit fire. He fixed a brazen mosquito on one of the gates, which prevented all live mosquitoes from entering the city. His bones were buried in a tower near the sea; and when these were exposed to the air, the atmosphere became darkened, and a violent storm shook the heavens.—Such is the account given by the imperial Chancellor, Conrad, Bishop of Hildesheim, then resident in Italy, to his friend and Provost in Germany. Schmidt, vol. III. p. 129.—The "Last Minstrel," in his notes, has also exhibited some of the exploits of the great Mantuan magician. And see Bayle, Dict. Art. Virgile, note (I.).

CHAPTER XXVII.

grammar and the subtilties of the dialectics engrossed the most exclusive devotion. The simplest phænomena of nature were uncomprehended or unexplained; and an advance in geometry or astronomy was imputed to magic. During the expedition of Otho I. into Calabria, an eclipse of the sun raised an universal belief that the day of judgment had arrived; and the German warriors sought to elude the terrours of that stupendous event by creeping beneath the baggage and carriages, or secreting themselves in their empty wine-casks![74]

Universities.

This deplorable stage of ignorance was little bettered during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; but before the commencement of the fifteenth, the Empire could boast of the Universities of Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, and Cologne;[75] and the student was no longer driven to Paris or Bologna. Still, however, in Germany the endless wranglings of school-divinity and the absurd refinements of logic were mistaken for the perfection of ingenuity and science; whilst the cultivation of the ancients and general literature was pronounced a frivolous and useless pursuit. At length the lustre of Italian refinement diffused itself over the Alps and brightened the German atmosphere; and the example of Agricola and Reuchlin turned the

[74] Schmidt, vol. II. pp. 92. 101. 404. vol. III. p. 127.

[75] Prague was founded in 1348:—Vienna in 1365. From this time the number of Universities rapidly increased; ex. gr. 1386, Heidelberg;—1388, Colgne;—1392, Erfurt;—1409, Leipzig;—1419, Rostock;—1456, Griefswald;—1457, Freyburg;—1472, Treves and Ingoldstadt;—1477, Tübingen and Mentz;—1502, Wittenberg;—1506, Frankfort on the Oder;—&c &c.

stream of application in a more pleasing and salutary direction.[76]

During the darker period, the German language was little cultivated;[77] and the works of the most conspicuous merit, as the histories of Witikind and Otho of Freisingen, were veiled in the Latin idiom. The compositions in the native tongue were scarcely more than translations from other languages, or barbarous attempts at rhyme. The reputation of the Troubadours penetrated the woods of Germany; and during the Crusades a taste was imbibed for the wonders of Chivalry and Romance. But the lovesongs of the Minstrels died away with the holy wars; and the people were contented with short and simple ballads, which could be retained with ease, and were therefore more acceptable than long and elaborate poems.[78] Even these were thrown into the shade by the increasing fondness for Mimes and Buffoons, who wandered about the country,

[76] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 494.—Rudolph Agricola, born 1442. John Reuchlin, born 1455.

[77] The first Laws in the German tongue were promulgated by Frederic II. Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 353.

[78] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 497. The Minnesänger (from Minne, an old German word for Love) included in their number many persons of high rank, and were particularly encouraged by the Swabian Emperors. Besides the effusions of love or sentiment, some ventured upon long poems, of an Epic character, founded upon the wars of Attila, or the exploits of the Christians against the Saracens. After the decline of this national minstrelsy, the poetry of Germany was confined to the cities, where the Meistersänger formed themselves into corporate bodies, and treated rhyming as a mechanical art.—Martin Opitz, the father of modern German poetry, and founder of the Silesian school, was born 1597. Conversations Lexicon, articles, Deutsche Poesie, Heldenbuch, and Opitz.

CHAPTER XXVII.

delighting nobles and people with their recitations and antics. The dramatic effect of their contentions in their art acquired for them the greatest popularity; and whilst the law denounced them as infamous, the princes encouraged them at their courts. At length the Diet interposed to stem this inundation of absurdity: the multitude were deprived of their favourite diversion; and the privilege of entertaining fools and mummers was reserved for the Electors and Princes.[79]

A severe drawback to the exertions of the learned was the great deficiency of books, although the monks were assiduous in multiplying copies.[80] How scanty were libraries at the beginning of the fifteenth century, may be seen from the collection of Lewis III. Elector Palatine, bequeathed in 1421 to the University of Heidelberg. This consisted of no more than one hundred and fifty-two manuscript volumes; eighty-nine theological; seven on the canon and five on the civil law; forty-five on medicine; and six on astronomy and philosophy.[81] But in a few years after this bequest, the Germans obtained the proud distinction of that great discovery, the composition of moveable types; and in spite of the pretensions of other nations, Germany has the strongest right to claim the invention of printing. To herself, however, the invention proved at first less beneficial than to other

[79] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 97. vol. III. p. 107. vol. IV. 500.—Pfeffel, tom. II. pp. 74. 78. 141.

[80] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 103.

[81] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 493.

countries, for she was as yet unskilled in the manufacture of paper:[82] and the Italian press seizing upon her new discovery left her parent-efforts at an immeasurable distance. CHAPTER XXVII.

But however deficient in literature and science, Germany attained early proficiency in the mechanical, and even the finer, Arts. As early as the tenth century Architecture engrossed her attention; and her old wooden churches were replaced by others of stone, with roofs of tile, and floors decorated with mosaic. In the next age arose the Cathedral of Strasburg; and the stately Cathedral of Cologne was founded by the archbishop in 1248.[83] The sacred edifices were further adorned by attempts at carving in marble the effigies of emperors and bishops. Some advance also was made towards excellence in painting; the monks delighted to beautify their manuscripts by elaborate and brilliant miniatures; and if we may trust the taste of Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, the hall of Merseburg contained a lively and animated representation of a victory by Henry I. over the Hungarians.[84] The discovery of the Hartz-mines under Otho I. opened a new field to the ingenuity of the German artists in forging and casting metals; and the churches were enriched by altars and images of gold and silver. In the less elegant arts Germany was The Arts.

[82] The first Paper-mill in Germany was established at Basle in 1470, by two Spaniards. Schmidt, p. 494.

[83] Schmidt, vol. II. pp. 104. 401.—Art. de vérif. tom. III. p. 274.

[84] Michael Wohlgemuth who was the founder of the Nuremberg school and preceptor of Albert Durer was born in 1434 and died in 1519.

CHAPTER XXVII.

more successful, the natural result of her widely-extended trade. Her looms produced excellent linen and woollen-cloths; and in many other departments her workmen and manufactures were eagerly sought by the rest of Europe.[85]

German manners.

To this imperfect sketch of the institutions of Germany, a few words may be added on the general character of the Germans, and their habits as members of society. The grand features in the

Love of War;

lives of the men were their devotion to war and hunting, and their inordinate addiction to drunkenness.—To the two first pursuits the German noble was trained almost from his cradle. Taught to excel in horsemanship and the use of arms, he ripened into manhood amidst the contests which called on him to defend his country, or invited him to the luxury of private war; and if not engaged in these tumultuous pleasures, the lists of the tournament stood ready for the display of his valour and dexte-

And of the Chase.

rity. The extensive forests opened to him a kindred gratification; and in the pursuit and destruction of the wild beasts, he experienced a rapturous excitement little short of that produced by contest with his fellow-men. Nor were these violent delights confined to the layman. The priest forgot his peaceful calling, and issued into the field as a warrior or a hunter. By a strange inconsistency, indeed, the pleasures of hawks and hounds, were frequently forbidden to the clergy, although it remained a part of their feudal duty to sally

[85] Schmidt, l. b. sup. and vol. i. IV. 492.

forth at the call of their lord in a more murderous avocation.[86]

Drunkenness.

By the crafty Greeks and temperate Italians the single-hearted Germans were continually reproached with their proneness to intoxication, which inflamed their natural rudeness to insanity, and converted their convivial meetings into scenes of strife and bloodshed.[87] That the reproach was far from unmerited, cannot be denied; but the vice was of ancient growth in Germany; the hearts of the people were open to hospitality and social feelings; and the Rhine in the eleventh century already yielded those delicious wines, which their more barbarous ancestors could only hope for by visiting France or Italy.[88] Their disgraceful excesses were in character with the rugged manners of the Germans, who, unchecked by the beneficial influence of female society, abandoned themselves to the vehemence of their passions, without a tincture of shame for their irrational enjoyments. The nobles, indeed, set an example of rudeness and ferocity, and delighted in the designation of the Lion, the Bear, or other beasts of prey. A single anecdote may expose the refinement of the eleventh century. After the death of Otho III., Eckard,

Rudeness.

[86] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 92. vol. III. p. 101.

[87] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 392. vol. IV. p. 468.

[88] "Those (says Gibbon, vol. I. p. 358.) who had tasted the rich wines of Italy, and afterwards of Gaul, *sighed* for that more delicious species of intoxication."—The famous vineyard of Rüdesheim was planted in 1075. Schmidt, vol. II. p. 90. note.—Frederic II. punished the destroyer of vines with the same severity as the incendiary, ibid. vol. III. p. 200.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Marquis of Misnia, Bernard, Duke of Saxony, and Arnolph, Bishop of Halberstadt, by chance entered a hall at Werl, where a repast was spread for the sisters of the deceased Emperor. The three noble intruders unceremoniously seated themselves at the table; and having devoured all the viands went their way, leaving the imperial mourners in the utmost confusion.[89]

Private simplicity.

The private lives of the Germans partook of extreme simplicity. The women busied themselves with their looms and distaffs, and ladies of the highest rank did not disdain this primitive occupation. Even the most exalted princes affected no extraordinary state, except upon solemn occasions.

Public splendour.

We have already seen the unusual pomp which accompanied the princes in their attendance at the Diet; and in their own mansions, the court-day of the nobles, and the celebration of a marriage or other domestic festival, called forth every known species of luxury and splendour. Innumerable guests were bidden to the banquets: and if the limits of the house were too narrow for the visitors, the tables were spread and the dances performed under the open canopy of the sky. On these occasions, men and women displayed the most costly attire adorned with gold and jewels; and the most magnificent costumes of foreign nations were called in aid of the pageant.[90]

In the cities also a spirit of comfort and luxury

[89] Ditmar, apud Schmidt, vol. II. p. 110.

[90] Schmidt, vol. II. p. 108. vol. III. p. 110. vol. IV. p. 475.

began to prevail. The houses of the substantial burghers were indicative of increasing riches. Their tables were furnished with cups and vessels of silver; and their wives and daughters were decorated with ornaments of gold. In the churches, the splendour of the shrines, the gorgeous vestments of the priests, and the reliques made really precious by the aid of pearls and gold, struck amazement into the stranger; and Italy herself might give way to Germany in the magnificence of her sacred decorations.[91]

[91] Æneas Sylvius, apud Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 483. Mr. Hallam (Middle Ages, vol. III. pp. 415. 428.) has shewn very good grounds for receiving with caution the testimony of Æneas in this matter.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

REIGNS OF ALBERT II. AND FREDERIC III.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE descendants of Rodolph of Hapsburg had now arrived at a high point of prosperity, being invested with the Dutchies of Austria, Styria, Carniola, and Carinthia; with the Tyrol, and other less considerable territories. But these, instead of being enjoyed by the head of the family, or possessed in common by the heirs, had been divided between Albert III. and Leopold II. grandsons of the great Rodolph: the former retaining Austria; the latter being endowed with Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the Tyrol, and the domains situated in Alsace, Swabia, and Switzerland.[1] The marriage of Albert V. grandson of Albert III. with Elizabeth, only daughter of the Emperor Sigismund, recommended him to the Hungarians as the successor of that prince; and he was elected and crowned King of Hungary, having bound himself by oath to reject all offers of the imperial diadem. But the devotion of Albert to his new subjects soon gave way before the gene-

Albert II. King of Hungary; 19th Dec. 1437.

[1] Art de vérifier les Dates, tom. III. p. 574. Another partition of territory was afterwards made between the two surviving sons of Leopold II. by which the younger, Frederic IV., received the Tyrol, with Hapsburg, &c., leaving the residue of his father's dominions to the elder, Ernest.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ral wish of the German Electors; and obtaining from the Council of Basle a dispensation from his oath, he reluctantly consented to accept the proffered title of King of the Romans. He laid claim also, as son-in-law of Sigismund, to the crown of Bohemia, and found the greater part of the nation favourable to his pretensions. But the discontented Hussites having declared for Casimir, half-brother of Uladislaus V. King of Poland, Albert took the field in person; and an attempt of the Polish prince to gain possession of Bohemia was frustrated by the force of the German arms.[2]

Of the Romans; 18th Mar. 1438.

And of Bohemia. 6th May, 1438.

The commencement of Albert's reign was full of promise. He began with renewing the project of his predecessor Wenceslaus for securing the public peace by dividing Germany into circles. Availing himself of the schism in the Church, he recommended to the states to preserve neutrality between the Pope and the Council; but to adopt such decrees of the fathers of Basle as favoured the liberties of the German Church. Those, therefore, which abolished Annates, Reservations, and Expectatives, were ratified by the Diet at Mentz; and, with some other reforms of clerical abuses, were constituted as a new pragmatic sanction. Meanwhile the schism remained in full force. The Council continued its sittings at Basle with unabated diligence; and Eugenius, in his turn, assembled his Council at Ferrara, and prevailed on his countrymen, the Venetians, to send galleys to Con-

Council of Basle;

Of Ferrara; 1438.

[2] Pfeffel, tom. II pp. 2. 7.—Schmidt, vol. IV. p 208.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

stantinople and conduct the Greeks to Italy. By the first decree of the papal assembly, passed in January 1438, the Council of Basle was declared to be ended. In the following March, the Greek Emperor, John Palæologus, arrived at Ferrara, attended by the patriarch of Constantinople and a numerous train of eastern prelates. After a variety of discussions on their several doctrines, the foundation was laid for the union between the Greek and Latin Churches; but the appearance of the plague in the city disturbed their deliberations; and the Council, by general consent, was transferred to Florence. Here the union was finally arranged; and the fathers of Greece might indulge a smile at being thus *united* to a Church which was itself distracted by internal dissension. This important matter being completed, the strangers retreated to Venice; and arrived at Constantinople in the following year.[3]

And of Florence. 1439.

Nothing disturbed by these proceedings the Council of Basle incessantly laboured at the reformation of the Church. The supremacy of the general Council over the Pope was solemnly decreed, and practically illustrated by the deposition of Eugenius, and the election of a new Pontiff. Amadeus VIII., the first Duke of Savoy, though not even in holy orders, was elected by the cardinals, and approved by the Council; and he emerged from his retirement at the hermitage of Ripaille to become head of the christian Church. He assumed the title of

[3] The Council of Florence is elaborately dwelt on by Gibbon in his sixty-sixth chapter.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Felix V., and was crowned at Basle; where the fathers continued their sitting until May 1443. The plague then made retreat expedient; and the Council was declared *adjourned,* but not dissolved.[4]

Felix V. Antipope.

The bright prospect which had opened with the reign of Albert II. was speedily overclouded; and the valuable life of that excellent prince terminated just as his subjects began to appreciate his merits. In his return from an expedition against the Turks, he was seized with dysentery, and died at Gran in Hungary in the forty-sixth year of his age and the second year of his reign. He left two daughters by his queen Elizabeth; but that princess proving pregnant at the time of his death, the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary were suffered to remain vacant, until the birth of an infant, if a male, might determine the choice of the two nations.

Death of Albert II. 1439.

As the Electors of Germany rejected the notion of hereditary succession, they proceeded at once to choose a sovereign; and by the majority of voices the crown was offered to Lewis III. Landgrave of Hesse.[5] That nobleman declining the proffered dignity, they elected Frederic of Austria, Duke of Styria, the grandson of that Leopold who perished in the battle of Sempach. Instead of imitating the wise neutrality of Albert, Frederic immediately declared for Pope Eugenius IV., to whom he intimated his election; and even stooped to entreat the papal confirmation; an humiliation directly at variance

Frederic III. King of the Romans. 1440.

[4] Dupin, vol. XIII. c. 3. 4.—Mosheim, vol. III. p. 425.

[5] Struvius, p. 723.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

with the pragmatic sanction of Lewis V.; and subversive of that lately promulgated by the Diet of Mentz.[6]

Ladislaus Posthumus King of Hungary;

The infant born of the widow of Albert proved to be a boy, and was called Ladislaus Posthumus. His claims to the throne of Hungary were opposed by Uladislaus V. King of Poland, and the Queen carried her infant son to Stuhlweissenburg; where he was crowned by the archbishop of Gran. Being obliged to fly before the Polish arms, Elizabeth retreated into Austria, carrying with her the crown of St. Stephen, in the vain hope that no valid coronation could take place in Hungary without this sacred relique. But Uladislaus having possessed himself of the chief places in the kingdom and obtained the suffrages of the nobles, another crown was fortunately discovered in St. Stephen's tomb, which entirely nullified the device of Elizabeth. She now obtained the assistance of the King of the Romans in asserting her son's pretensions; and after a brief war, the conflicting parties were brought to terms by the intervention of the papal legate, cardinal Giuliano Cesarini.[7] It was agreed that the Polish king should retain the government of Hungary until Ladislaus attained his majority; that he should be possessed of the throne in case the young prince died without issue; and the compact was sealed by affiancing the two daughters of Elizabeth to the King of Poland and his brother Casimir.[8]

[6] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 12.

[7] See him particularly noticed in Gaspar, vol. XII. p. 164.

[8] The death of Uladislaus in 1444 prevented his marriage with Anne of

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The young Ladislaus was also acknowledged as King of Bohemia; and the administration during his minority vested in two Regents; Mainard, Count of Neuhaus, chosen on the part of the Catholics; and Henry Ptarsko, and after his death George Podiebrad, on that of the Hussites. The death of Uladislaus in the memorable battle of Warna[9] again left Hungary without a ruler; and as Frederic III. persisted in retaining the young Ladislaus and the crown of St. Stephen, the Hungarians entrusted the government to John Corvinus Huniades, the redoubted defender of their country.[10]

And of Bohemia.

Death of Uladislaus V. 1444.

The ill effects of the protracted schism in the Church were speedily felt in Germany. Not content with adopting the decrees of the Council of Basle, the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves declared for Felix V.; and were immediately excommunicated and deprived of their sees by Eugenius. Their cause, however, was warmly espoused by their brother Electors; and a meeting was held at Frankfort, where they pledged themselves to disown Eugenius, unless he consented to recognize the decrees of Constance and Basle, and promised to convoke a new Council, in the following May, at Constance, Strasburg, Worms, Mentz, or Treves. Frederic had now committed himself with the Pope

Dispute between the Pope and Electors. 1446.

Austria; but Casimir was united to Elizabeth in 1454. From this marriage sprang four kings; Uladislaus, King of Bohemia and Hungary; and John, Alexander, and Sigismund, successively Kings of Poland.

[9] Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 161.

[10] Pfeffel, p. 14.—Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 228.—Coxe, vol. I. p. 249.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

too far to retract; but he had much to dread from an open rupture with the Electors. He, therefore, despatched Æneas Sylvius to Rome to apprize Eugenius of the electoral resolution, and to infuse into his advisers a spirit of moderation. Æneas accordingly accompanied the ambassadors of the Electors. But their demands being haughtily rejected by the Pope, a breach seemed inevitable, when another method of conciliation suggested itself to Æneas. He returned into Germany, and his natural eloquence was seasonably supported by a liberal distribution of the papal gold. The Archbishop of Mentz, the strenuous opponent of Eugenius, suddenly remitted his animosity, and even exerted himself to appease his brother Electors.

Termination of the dispute. 1417.

The articles and expressions most obnoxious to the see of Rome were suppressed or softened; Æneas proceeded with the new embassy to Rome; and Eugenius was prevailed upon to comply with the electoral demands on the recognition of his title as the true Pope. A papal bull was accordingly put forth restoring the deposed Archbishops of Cologne and Treves; with the promise of assembling a new Council within ten months. The authority of the Council of Constance was acknowledged; the adoption of the decrees of Basle was confirmed; and all elections and presentations to benefices during the neutrality were pronounced valid. But this liberal concession was clogged by a qualification in favour of the rights of the Church; and an ambassador was to be despatched into Germany to adjust with

the Electors a suitable *provision* for the Pope, in recompense for any loss of revenue he might sustain by the abolition of Annates and other sources of emolument to the holy see.[11]

During this negociation, Eugenius IV. was rapidly closing his turbulent career. His reign had already greatly exceeded the ordinary duration; and having navigated the sacred vessel through a sea of troubles for nearly seventeen years, he expired in Rome on the 23d of February 1447, a few days after his reconciliation with the Electors.

Death of Eugenius IV. 1447.

Nicholas V., the successor of Eugenius, had the satisfaction of finding his election recognized in Germany, as well as by the rest of Europe. It still remained, however, to settle the *provision* for the Pope; and a cardinal was sent to adjust this important affair with Frederic. At Aschaffenburg the Concordats were settled, and afterwards ratified by the Diet, disgraceful to the head of the Empire, and subversive of the liberties of the German Church. It was by these admitted that the canonical election to benefices should be vested in the chapters; but that the Pope should have the nomination to all such as became vacant during the months of January, March, May, July, September, and November:—That where the vacancy was occasioned by deposition or translation, or where the election was declared invalid, the presentation should devolve to the Pope; who in return for this enormous concession agreed to abolish Reservations and Expec-

Nicholas V. 1447-1455.

Concordats of Aschaffenburg. 1448.

[11] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 242.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

tatives:—That on every change in a benefice, a certain and permanent tax should be paid by the new incumbent, proportioned to the extent of the revenues; a provision which virtually restored the obnoxious Annates.[12] Thus the salutary measures of Albert in adopting the decrees of Basle were nullified by his feeble successor, who, during the whole transaction, appears entirely to have abandoned himself to the dictates of Æneas Sylvius. That accomplished scholar and subtle politician had been secretary to the Council of Basle, and particularly distinguished himself by the zeal with which he opposed the papal pretensions. A nearer acquaintance with the court of Rome worked a marvellous revolution in his sentiments, and the independence of the German Church was compromised by his influence over his master. By the Concordats of Aschaffenburg the electoral resolutions of Mentz and Frankfort were in effect repealed; the clergy were subjected to a ruinous tax; and the presentation to the greater portion of the benefices of Germany was permanently vested in the see of Rome.

Amadeus of Savoy was easily induced to lay down a dignity which he found the world determined to deny him. By a compact with Pope Nicholas V. he secured, for himself and those whom he had created, the title of Cardinal; and resigning all claims to the chair of St. Peter, once more retired to the hermitage of Ripaille, where he soon after-

[12] Pfeffel, p. 24.—Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 244.

wards terminated his days. The fathers of Basle, who had migrated to Lausanne, now consented to admit the authority of Nicholas; and thus ended the lesser schism, after troubling the Church for ten years.[13]

End of the schism. 1449.

Harmony being thus restored, Frederic prepared for a journey to Rome for the purpose of being crowned by the Pope. Prior to his departure from Germany he concluded a contract of marriage with Eleonora, daughter of Edward, King of Portugal, and niece of Alfonso, King of Aragon and Naples. The nuptials were to be celebrated in Rome, though the cold-blooded bridegroom resolved to defer their consummation until after his return out of Italy, lest a child engendered in that country should inherit the Italian temperament. Accompanied by his ward the young Ladislaus and his secretary Æneas Sylvius, he visited Ferrara, Bologna, and Florence; and at Siena was met by the Portuguese princess. He then proceeded to Rome, where he arrived on the 25th of January 1452.

Expedition of Frederic into Italy. 1452.

As Frederic was unwilling to recognize the title of Francesco Sforza, who had recently gained possession of the Dutchy of Milan, he had carefully avoided that city, though anxious to receive the Lombard crown.[14] In Rome, therefore, the Pope was persuaded to enact the part of archbishop of

[13] Dupin.—Mosheim.—Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 245.

[14] This appears to have been the true reason: though it was pretended that Frederic avoided Milan on account of the plague. Struvius, p. 738, note (43.)

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Coronation of Frederic at Rome.

Milan; and, after performing his marriage with Eleonora, Nicholas V. crowned him King of Lombardy. Three days afterwards he was invested with the crown of Charlemagne in St. Peter's, and the virgin-empress received a similar honour. From Rome the Emperor proceeded to Naples on a visit to his new uncle Alfonso, who overcame his absurd scruples; and, after fortifying himself against Italian enchantment by a variety of spells and talismans, he was induced to consummate his marriage. In his return through Ferrara, he raised the Marquis Borso to the dignity of Duke of Modena and Reggio, for which that noble agreed to pay an annual tribute of four thousand ducats. To Sforza he offered to grant the investiture of Milan for an annual payment of fifty thousand golden florins, or on the restitution of the city of Parma; conditions to which the Duke wisely declined to accede.[15]

When Frederic returned into Germany, he found himself involved in a dispute with the Austrians, the Bohemians, and the Hungarians, in respect to the custody of the young Ladislaus. He had faithfully discharged his duty as guardian to that prince by a careful and learned education; and as Ladislaus had now arrived at the age of thirteen, his subjects, but more particularly the Austrians, grew impatient of the detention of their sovereign at the imperial court. Whilst Podiebrad continued regent of Bohemia, and Huniades of Hungary, the affairs of Austria were directed by Frederic; and the un-

[15] Murat. Ann. 1452.—Pfeffel, p. 27.—Struvius, p. 741.

popularity of his government caused a general anxiety for a change. But to give up the custody of his ward was contrary to the policy of the Emperor, and in the hope of silencing the Austrians he marched with a force against them. His enemies, however, proved too numerous; he was himself endangered by a siege in Neustadt; and compelled to purchase his deliverance by resigning the person of Ladislaus. The states of Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary then assembled at Vienna; Podiebrad and Huniades were confirmed in their regencies; and the administration of Austria, together with the custody of Ladislaus, was confided to his maternal great-uncle, Ulric, Count of Cilli. The resentment of Frederic does not appear to have been vehement; for in the following year he raised Austria to an archdutchy, and by a grant of especial privileges placed the Duke of the province on a level with the Electors.[16]

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Ladislaus Posthumus consigned to the Austrians. 1452.

1453.

After being crowned King of Bohemia at Prague, Ladislaus was invited by his Hungarian subjects to visit that kingdom. But the Count of Cilli, jealous of the power of Huniades, so far worked upon the young king's mind as to create in him suspicions of the regent's integrity. An attempt was made to seize Huniades by enticing him to Vienna; but he eluded the snare, exposed the treachery of Ulric, and prevailed on Ladislaus to visit his people. At Buda, an apparent reconciliation took place between the count and the regent; but Ulric still persisted

[16] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 28.—Coxe, p. 251.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

in his design of ruining the credit of a man whom he regarded as a dangerous rival. In the moment of danger, the brave spirit of Huniades triumphed over his insidious traducer; the siege of Belgrade by the Turks, under Mahomed II., threw Hungary into consternation; the royal pupil and his crafty guardian abandoned the Hungarians to their fate and precipitately fled to Vienna; whilst Huniades was left to encounter the fury of the storm.

The Turks besiege Belgrade. 1456.

The encroachments of the Turks had already been sufficiently alarming, and the fall of Constantinople had recently struck dismay into Europe. The siege of the Hungarian capital raised a new panic, and the Pope was loud in his call upon the Christian princes to arm against the infidel invaders. A Diet was convoked by the Emperor at Ratisbon, whither he despatched Sylvius and other ambassadors, being himself deeply occupied by the disorders of his paternal dominions. This Diet, as was too often the case, separated without determining upon any measure; and another assembly was convened to which the Italian states were pressingly invited. Letters and messengers were sent to the Kings of France, England, Scotland, Poland, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, entreating them to appear by their representatives in Germany. But neither Pope nor Emperor had sufficient influence to rouse the northern powers. In the new assembly, Sylvius exerted his eloquence with apparent success, and the Diet were induced to promise a levy of thirty-two thousand foot and ten thousand horse

CHAPTER XXVIII.

for the relief of the Hungarians; but the consideration of the means of raising so large a force was postponed till another meeting at Neustadt. Here, instead of considering the danger of Europe, the time was wasted in discussing frivolous points of precedence; and whilst the legions of Mahomed were thundering at the gates of Belgrade, the Elector of Treves and the papal legate were disputing on their right to priority.[17] The constancy and valour of Huniades Corvinus for a time averted the danger. The undaunted resistance of that renowned captain preserved Belgrade; the Turks, after a desperate struggle, were compelled to abandon the siege; their loss amounted to thirty thousand men; and the Sultan himself was severely wounded. The great defender did not long survive his triumph; dying, soon after the retreat of the enemy, of a fever occasioned by his extraordinary exertions.

The siege raised by Huniades; 22d July. 1456.

His death. 10th Sept.

Huniades left two sons, Ladislaus and Matthias Corvinus, who were as much the idols of their country as they were objects of jealousy to Ulric and the King. The latter, indeed, took care to treat them with every mark of external respect; but the injurious behaviour of the count provoked Ladislaus Corvinus to open violence; and, in a personal rencounter, Ulric received a mortal wound. Enraged at the death of his favourite yet dreading the vengeance of the people, King Ladislaus resorted to treachery; and the brothers being lured

Execution of Ladislaus Corvinus 1457.

[17] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 253.

36997

CHAPTER XXVIII.

into his power, the younger was beheaded as a murderer. Matthias was preserved from death by the menaces of the indignant Hungarians; the terrified monarch fled with his prisoner to Prague; and being there attacked by a malignant disease, was consigned to a premature grave after suffering for only a few hours.[18]

Death of Ladislaus Posthumus.

The death of Ladislaus Posthumus plunged the Emperor into new difficulties. His succession to the Austrian territory was opposed by his brother Albert VI. whose hostility had long troubled his repose. The Bohemians rejected his claim to their throne, and conferred the crown on the more deserving Podiebrad. The Hungarians testified their regard for the memory of Huniades Corvinus by electing his son Matthias, who purchased his liberty from Podiebrad for forty thousand ducats. Thus baffled in his views, Frederic consoled himself with his retention of the crown of St. Stephen; and his pertinacity in respect to this sacred relique involved him in a war with the new King of Hungary.[19]

George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia. 1458-1471.

Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary. 1458-1490.

Whilst Frederic was thus grasping at foreign sceptres, his own imperial crown was nearly shaken from his brow. The princes had long been weary of his inability and supineness; and a powerful majority meditated his removal, and designed Podiebrad as his successor in the Empire. Fortunately for the Emperor the papal chair was filled by a friend devoted to his interest. On the death of Nicholas V., Calixtus III. succeeded; and at the

Calixtus III. 1455-1458.

[18] Coxe, p. 262.

[19] Coxe, p. 329.

close of his brief reign the choice of the conclave fell upon Æneas Sylvius. His exertions in defence of the papal encroachments had been rewarded by Eugenius IV. with the bishopric of Trieste; by Nicholas V. with that of his native city Siena; and from Calixtus III. he received the cardinal's hat.[20]

The anxiety of Sylvius, who chose the title of Pius II., to provoke a crusade against the Turks, became his ruling passion after his elevation to the papacy. As he saw in the disaffection of the Electors a mighty obstacle to his warlike projects, he exerted all his influence in Germany to dissipate the schemes of the discontented, as well to suit his own views, as out of gratitude to the Emperor. But all his efforts to arouse the German States to take the field against the Turks proved ineffectual; and the situation of Frederic was too precarious to allow of his participation in the Pope's design. On the one side, the Hungarians were ready to burst into Austria; and within the province, the restless Albert was perpetually harassing his imperial brother. In vain did Pius despatch the cardinal Bessarion into Germany to awake the slumbering princes; neither Emperor nor Princes appeared in the Diet; and Bessarion returned to Rome with loud reproaches for their apathy.[21]

Meanwhile the hostile feeling of the Electors continued to menace the Emperor with dethrone-

[20] Dupin, vol. XIII. c. 4.

[21] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 270. It was remarked that he gave the parting benediction to the ambassadors of the princes with his *left* hand.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ment; and Frederic, Elector Palatine, and Diether, the newly-chosen Archbishop of Mentz, opened a negotiation with George, King of Bohemia, who now aspired to the imperial crown. Their schemes, however, were disconcerted by the resolute opposition of the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, and the exertions of Pius were strenuously put forth in behalf of his ancient benefactor. The Elector of Mentz was himself marked out for persecution at the hands of the Pope; and he experienced that deposition which he sought to inflict upon his sovereign.

On the election of Diether to the see of Mentz, he despatched his envoys to Rome, to obtain the pallium and papal confirmation. Pius took occasion to bind the hands of Diether, by insisting on a promise that he would convoke no meeting of the Electors without the sanction of the Emperor. He required also his personal attendance at Rome; and imposed such other conditions as the episcopal envoys were altogether unprepared to comply with. But the Archbishop, anxious to obtain the confirmation even on these exorbitant terms, sent a new embassy to Rome; and the chief points being conceded to the Pope, he ratified the Election. Another difficulty now arose from the unwarrantable demands of the Pontiff, who claimed the sum of twenty thousand six hundred and one florins in lieu of the accustomed annates, being more than double the sum extorted from the last archbishop. Unwilling that their mission should miscarry, the messengers pro-

cured the money from the Roman bankers, and returned to Mentz. But Diether loudly protested against this exaction, and threatened to appeal to the next Council; a proceeding which immediately drew down upon him the papal fulminations of excommunication and deposition. Resolved to enforce his spiritual censures by the point of the sword, Pius nominated to the see Adolphus, Count of Nassau, who had been the unsuccessful competitor of Diether, and whose powerful kindred promised effectual support in the contest. Adolphus immediately received the recognition of the Emperor, and the assistance of the Elector of Brandenburg, the Margrave of Baden, and the Bishops of Metz and Spires. On the other hand, the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Bavaria-Landshut took up arms in behalf of Diether, and a vigorous contest was carried on which promised a favourable result to the deposed archbishop. Adolphus, however, gained possession of the city of Mentz by the treachery of some citizens; and Diether narrowly escaped falling into the hands of his rival. But the war was terminated by the defection of the Elector Palatine, whose brother, being nominated to the see of Cologne, desired to obtain the confirmation of the Pope. Diether, thus forsaken by his powerful ally, was content to come to terms with his adversaries; and, on condition of resigning his pretensions to the archbishopric, he was put in possession of some other territories and provided with a considerable pension. His faithless ally reaped

Diether, Elector of Mentz, deposed. 1461.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

enormous profit from the ransom of his fettered prisoners. The Bishop of Metz rescued himself from the palatine dungeon by the payment of sixty thousand florins; and the Margrave of Baden and the Count of Wurtemberg were released on undertaking each to pay an hundred thousand florins, for a portion of which they were compelled to mortgage some of their dominions.[22]

War with Albert VI. of Austria; 1461.

Although this Rhenish contest diverted the hostile Electors from the design of deposing the Emperor, Frederic became engaged in a ruinous war with his brother, who, encouraged by the general discontent, threatened to strip him of his Austrian territory. After being besieged in Vienna and reduced to the last extremity, he was rescued from his present danger by the friendly assistance of George, King of Bohemia; and death shortly afterwards preserved him from further vexation from his brother and inveterate foe.[23] By the interference of that monarch, Frederic now became reconciled to Matthias, King of Hungary, whose title he had hitherto refused to recognize. A treaty was entered into, by which the Emperor was permitted to style himself King of Hungary, whilst Matthias enjoyed the dominion of the country as his adopted son; and if Matthias died without issue, the kingdom was to descend to the posterity of Frederic.[24]

Death of Albert VI. 1463.

1461.

These good offices of George of Bohemia made

[22] Schmidt Book VII. c. 21. Diether regained the archbishopric in 1475. Struvius, p. 750.

[23] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 37.

[24] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 291.

little impression on the sordid heart of Frederic III.; and instigated by his oracle Pius II. he lent himself to a project for dethroning his benefactor. Pius, in his zeal against heretics, regarded the Hussite King with abhorrence, and was in act to launch his thunders against him when his own career was arrested by death. But his successor Paul II., a mean and contemptible man, caught up the same hostility to George: even Frederic, no longer under the controul of Pius, stepped in to avert the papal wrath; and at his entreaty the anathemas of the new Pope were thrice suspended. At length the bolt was suffered to burst on the King of Bohemia, whom Paul excommunicated; at the same time offering the kingdom to Casimir, King of Poland. The well-known valour of George deterred the Pole from availing himself of the papal munificence; nor could the Emperor be satisfied by this neglect of his claim to the Bohemian crown. But the ungrateful conduct of Frederic stirred up the just indignation of George; and he sent his son Victorin with a force into Austria, which soon drove the Emperor to call in the aid of Matthias of Hungary. Under pretence of concerting measures against the Turks, Frederic undertook a journey to Rome; and in his conferences with the Pope the ruin of George was certainly not forgotten.[25] He was speedily destined to reap the bitter fruits of this ungenerous policy. The Turks finding him deprived of so valuable an ally as the Bohemian king,

Paul II. 1464-1471.

The Emperor visits Rome. 1468.

[25] Murat. Ann. 1468.—Schmidt, p. 298.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

made an inroad upon Croatia, and carried their ravages into the imperial territories of Carniola and Carinthia. The journey to Rome had moreover estranged Matthias, whose suspicions were thereby awakened; and he openly upbraided Frederic of conniving with the Pope to rob him of the crown of Hungary.[26]

In this critical state of affairs, Frederic convoked a Diet at Ratisbon, and his example of appearing there in person was followed by several Electors and Princes. The Emperor demanded that to him, as Generalissimo of the army, the levies of troops should be entrusted; and he required a supply of funds necessary for raising a force adequate to the defence of the kingdom. But though the electoral and princely colleges reluctantly assented to this proposal, the deputies of the imperial cities at once refused their concurrence, and recommended that the several states should furnish every one its contingent. As usual, therefore, the Diet broke up without arriving at any decision, except the idle proclamation of public peace in the Empire for four years. New Diets at Neustadt and Augsburg proved alike abortive; and the Turks were permitted to proceed in their career of desolation.[27]

Death of George Podiebrad. 1471.

Another mortification awaited Frederic: George, King of Bohemia, expired in 1171; and the claims of the Emperor and King of Hungary being equally disregarded, the crown was conferred on Uladislaus, son of Casimir IV. King of Poland, and grandson

[26] Schmidt, p. 299. [27] Tuffel, p. 11.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

of Albert II.[28] To this election Frederic long persisted in withholding his assent; but at length he determined to crush the claim of Matthias by formally investing Uladislaus with the kingdom and electorate of Bohemia, and the office of imperial cup-bearer. In revenge for this affront, Matthias marched into Austria; took possession of the fortresses of the Danube; and compelled the Emperor to purchase a cessation of hostilities by undertaking to pay an hundred thousand golden florins, one half of which was disbursed by the Austrian states at the appointed time. But as the King of Hungary still delayed to yield up the captured fortresses, Frederic refused all further payment; and the war was again renewed. Matthias invaded and ravaged Austria; and though he experienced formidable resistance from several towns, his arms were crowned with success, and he became master of Vienna and Neustadt. Driven from his capital the terrified Emperor was reduced to the utmost distress, and wandered from town to town and from convent to convent, endeavouring to arouse the German States against the Hungarians. Yet even in this exigency his good fortune did not wholly forsake him; and he availed himself of a Diet at Frankfort to procure the election of his son Maximilian as King of the Romans. To this Diet, however, the King of Bohemia received no summons, and therefore protested against the validity of the election. A full apology and admission of

Uladislaus [II.] King of Bohemia. 1471-1516.

Matthias invades Austria. 1477.

1482.

Capture of Vienna. 1485.

[28] For the Genealogy of the Line of Jagello, see Table XXVIII.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

his right easily satisfied Uladislaus, and he consented to remit the fine which the Golden Bull had fixed as the penalty of the omission. The death of Matthias Corvinus in 1490, left the throne of Hungary vacant; and the Hungarians influenced by their widowed queen, conferred the crown upon the King of Bohemia, without listening to the pretensions of Maximilian. That valorous prince, however, sword in hand recovered his Austrian dominions; and the rival kings concluded a severe contest by the treaty of Presburg, by which Hungary was for the present secured to Uladislaus; but on his death without heirs was to vest in the descendants of the Emperor.[29]

Maximilian elected King of the Romans. 1486.

Uladislaus [VI.] King of Hungary 1490.

1491.

[29] Pfeffel, pp. 50. 52. 53.—Schmidt, vol. IV. Book VII. c. 26.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REIGN OF FREDERIC III. CONTINUED.

BEFORE the troubles of Frederic III. had been suspended in Austria, his views were directed to the west of Europe, and he was brought in contact with two of the most remarkable princes of the age. These were Louis XI. King of France, and Charles, surnamed the Rash, Duke of Burgundy.

Louis XI. King of France. 1461-1483.

Louis was son of the victorious Charles VII., and ascended the throne of France upon the death of that king in 1461. In his early life he had stood in rebellion against his father, and been compelled for a time to seek refuge at the court of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. In the outset of his reign, Louis was regarded as a close, suspicious, distrustful, crafty, and vindictive man; and the whole course of his life justified this unfavourable opinion.[1] The treacherous nature of the sovereign had the effect of demoralizing the court; and never did there exist such a general want of faith as disgraced the reign of Louis. But the excess of the monarch's duplicity often defeated itself; and he sometimes found himself foiled with his own wea-

[1] Père Daniel, tom. VII., p. 409.

CHAPTER XXIX.

pons. His favourite maxim was, that he who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to reign; an avowal of the great dissembler which at once confessed his own insufficiency for the kingly office.[2] Though cruel and unforgiving, he was intrepid and just; but his intrepidity was involved in his accustomed caution; and his justice partook of severity. Cursed with an unprepossessing person, he affected a slovenly exterior. He never suffered his dignity to interfere with his designs, and was wont to say, that when pride goes before, shame and ruin follow after.[3] Though his ordinary speech was grave and measured, he could easily unbend to familiarity, and ingratiate himself by easy condescension. He rarely consulted the opinion of others; and those who were admitted to his confidence were called in to execute his designs rather than assist in their contrivance.

Charles Duke of Burgundy. 1467-1477.

Charles of Burgundy, the perpetual opponent of Louis, was of a character widely different. From his father, Philip the Good, he inherited vast possessions in France and the Netherlands, to which he himself added the dutchy of Gueldres.[4] Brave even to rashness, restless, ambitious, headstrong, and profuse,[5] he looked with contempt upon his sovereign Louis, and aspired to place himself at least on an equality. He had once attempted to obtain the imperial crown; but this immoderate

[2] Que le meilleur moyen (said Torci) de tromper les cours, c'est d'y parler toujours vrai.

[3] Philippe de Comines, Liv. II. c. 4. 4to. Londres, 1747.

[4] Appendix, Table XXVI. [5] Comines, Liv. V. c. 9.

desire was now exchanged for the more practicable design of converting his dutchy into the *Kingdom* of Burgundy. In an interview with the Emperor Frederic at Treves, where he appeared to receive the investiture of Gueldres, he entered into a formal negociation for reviving that ancient kingdom.

As the price of this revival, he offered to Frederic a large sum of money, and the hand of his only child Mary for Maximilian, Archduke of Austria. The proffered gold of Burgundy and the ample inheritance of the princess had their due effect; and all appeared so completely arranged, that Charles made preparations for the ceremony of his coronation. But the suspicious temper of the Emperor suddenly broke off the negociation. He persisted with so much earnestness that the marriage should precede the coronation, that the Duke began, in his turn, to doubt the sincerity of his intentions. Meanwhile the artifices of Louis XI., who dreaded the completion of this ambitious project, were successfully exerted to prejudice the Emperor against Charles; and, without apprizing the Duke of his intentions, he secretly quitted Treves and withdrew to Cologne.[6]

War with Charles, Duke of Burgundy. 1474.

The fiery spirit of Burgundy could ill brook this injurious treatment, and he immediately commenced his ravages on the territory of the Rhine. Louis gladly entered into an alliance with Frederic against his turbulent subject; and the Swiss and

[6] This is cited by Comines as an example, amongst many others, of the bad effects resulting from the *personal* negociations of sovereigns. Liv. II. c. 8.

CHAPTER XXIX.

René, Duke of Lorraine, were induced to join the confederacy.[7] But after the first burst of indignation, his ardent desire for the royal title disposed Charles to negociate; and the payment of two hundred thousand crowns was an irresistible inducement with the Emperor to withdraw from the contest. Louis was included in the treaty of peace; but the Duke of Burgundy's wrath against Lorraine and the Swiss was too implacable for reconciliation. His whole energies were directed to the punishment of the subordinates in the quarrel; and his life was the forfeit of his vindictive passions. The cool intrepidity of the Swiss baffled him in every encounter; and after sustaining severe defeats at Granson and Morat, Charles the Rash perished in the fatal battle of Nanci.[8]

Peace. 1475.

Death of Charles. 1477.

The news of the death of the Duke filled Louis XI. with intense delight. He immediately seized on Abbeville, St. Quentin, Peronne, and other towns, as escheated to the crown of France by the death of Charles without male issue.[9] He took possession of the *Dutchy* of Burgundy as a male fief; and, without any just pretence, of Franche Comté, which was a female fief, and therefore descendible

[7] Comines, Liv. IV. c. 6.

[8] Comines, Liv. V. c. 8. Planta's Helv. Confederacy, vol. II. pp. 228-248. —Massinger commemorates

> "those three memorable overthrows,
> At Granson, Morat, Nanci, where.....
> The warlike Charalois.....
> .....lost treasure, men, and life."
>
> Fatal Dowry, Act I s. 2.

[9] Several cities in Picardy had been ceded to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, by Charles VII. in virtue of the treaty of Arras (1435), which reconciled the Duke to the King.

to the Duke's daughter. He sent his barber and favourite Olivier le Dain to Ghent, where the young Dutchess Mary resided, in the hope of obtaining possession of the city, and getting the heiress into his custody. But the inaptness for his mission exposed the barber to the ridicule of the citizens; and fearing ruder treatment Olivier precipitately departed, without forwarding his object. At this time the unfortunate Mary was miserably exposed to the violence of the men of Ghent, who seized upon the government, and put to death her two confidential advisers, without regard to her tears and supplications. She was farther alarmed by the declaration of Louis that he destined her hand for his son, the Dauphin Charles, a boy only eight years old; a design not seriously entertained by the wily king, who trusted to secure her dominions by force of arms. But the difficulties he met with, in endeavouring to reduce the coveted cities, caused a change in his counsels; and the project of a marriage, which had originated in his duplicity, appeared the readiest means of securing the booty.[10] Here, however, his politic views were thwarted by the Emperor, who was eager, by the union of Mary with his son, to annex the estates of the late Duke of Burgundy to the imperial dominions. The personal inclinations of the princess were already predisposed in favour of such an union. During her father's sojourn at Treves, he had been forcibly struck with the comely person and martial dex-

[10] Comines, Liv. V. and VI.

t·r ty r l M ximilian, and on his return he so loudly s l·d the praises of the Austrian prince that his w r ls sank deep into the heart of his daughter.[11] M ry therefore cordially received the imperial am- l ss d rs who were sent to negociate the marriage, and without hesitation consented to become the bride of Maximilian. The marriage was forthwith celebrated, the Duke of Bavaria ascending the nuptial couch as proxy;[12] and her true husband soon afterwards arrived in Flanders, where his graceful exterior and refined manners delighted Mary with her decision.

War with Louis XI.

Having thus made good his title to the estates of Burgundy, it remained to wrest from the grasp of the king of France the territories he had overrun; and, war being commenced, a desperately contested battle was fought near Guinegate, which, though by no means decisive, terrified Louis into a truce for a year.[13] But the death of Mary entirely changed the prospect of affairs; and Maximilian found himself involved in new troubles in respect of the territories in the Netherlands, to which he claimed possession in right of his deceased consort.

Battle of Guinegate. 1479.

Death of Mary of Burgundy. 1482

The Netherlands.

Of the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, thirteen had devolved to the House of Burgundy. Philip the Hardy, who was created Duke of Burgundy by his father John, King of France, acquired

[11] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 307.

[12] Armé de toutes pieces au bras et à la cuisse droite, après avoir placé une épée nue entre lui et la princesse. Pfeffel, p. 46.

[13] Comines, Liv. VI. c. 6. and note.

by marriage the French fiefs of Flanders and Artois. His grandson, Philip the Good, succeeded by inheritance to Limburg, and to Brabant, including Antwerp and Mecklin. By purchase he became master of Namur; by cession of Luxemburg; and he successfully laid claim to Holland, Zealand, Friesland, Hainault, and the Cambresis. Charles the Rash added to these Gueldres with Zutphen, which he extorted from the calamities of Duke Arnold of Egmont.[14]

Wealth and turbulence of Flanders.

Of all this rich inheritance, Flanders was most distinguished for its trade, its wealth, and its turbulence. As early as the middle of the tenth century the clothing trade of Europe was principally in the hands of the Flemings;[15] and in honour of its celebrated woollen manufactories Philip the Good instituted the order of the Golden Fleece.[16] The city of Bruges had very early become the emporium of western Europe; and appears, in the fourteenth century, to have attained the utmost height of its prosperity. France, Spain, Britain, the Hanse-towns and the Italian states, here carried on an extensive traffic; and factories and commercial houses of almost every nation were to be met with in the city. Ghent was even then scarcely less prosperous than Bruges, and was soon destined to surpass its rival.[17] But the commerce and con-

[14] Art de vérifier les Dates, tom. III. pp. 21. 34. 108. 125. 183. 214.

[15] Macpherson's Annals, vol I. p. 270.

[16] I prefer following the authors, who give this account of its origin, to the fantastical theories of its connexion with the fleece of Jason, or Jacob, or Gideon!

[17] Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. I. pp. 378. 439.—Macpherson's Annals, vol. I. pp. 191. 651.

CHAPTER XXIX.

sequent wealth of Flanders kindled a spirit of independence among the citizens, which made them impatient of controul and insolent towards their rulers. Bruges and Ghent were continually in arms against their liege lords, the kings of France and the counts of Flanders. As early as 1303 they provoked the wrath of Philip IV.; and their rebellion was signally chastised by Philip VI.; and again by Charles VI.[18]

1330.
1382.

The surviving issue of Mary of Burgundy by Maximilian of Austria were a son Philip, and a daughter Margaret. After the death of Mary, Louis XI., still intent on adding the Netherlands to France, opened a negociation for marrying the Dauphin Charles to the daughter, instead of the mother. But Maximilian was totally averse from such an alliance; and the king had recourse to the unruly men of Ghent, who fiercely disputed the Archduke's authority in Flanders, and resolved to acknowledge no other sovereign than the son of their late dutchess. They even seized upon the young Philip and his sister Margaret; and threatened to surrender the latter to France, in case Maximilian persisted in refusing to unite her to the Dauphin. Thus distracted by the importunities of Louis and the menaces of the Flemings, the Archduke yielded to the pressure of circumstances, and reluctantly set his hand to the treaty of Arras. In furtherance of that compact, the counties of Artois, Burgundy, and Charolois, were assigned to the Dauphin, and the young princess

Treaty of Arras. 1482.

[18] Daniel, tom. V.

was carried into France for her education. The death of Louis XI., in the following year, placed Charles VIII. upon the French throne.[19]

Charles VIII. King of France. 1483.

The compliance of Maximilian gained him nothing with the stubborn Flemings. They persisted in denying to the Archduke the guardianship and custody of his son; and as he was supported by Hainault, Brabant, Namur, and Holland, the flames of civil war were lighted up in the Netherlands. Their vehemence, however, was for a time repressed by the arms and alacrity of Maximilian; and the citizens of Ghent were compelled to deliver up the young Philip, and to commit the regency of his estates to his father, during his minority.

The Flemings oppose Maximilian.

The crooked counsels of the court of France soon involved the Archduke in new disquiets. The tender age of the Dauphin Charles VIII. induced Louis XI. at his death to entrust the government of France to his eldest daughter, Anne, Lady of Beaujeu, who inherited no small share of the craft and subtilty of her hypocritical father. Not content with encouraging the Flemings in their rebellion against Maximilian, the politic princess conceived the design of annexing Bretainy, which now languished under the feeble government of Francis II., its incompetent and indolent Duke. Indignant at the favour lavished upon the unworthy favourite Landais, many principal Breton lords conspired for his destruction; and by a sudden and

War between France and Bretainy. 1487.

[19] Daniel, tom. VII. p. 637.—The treaty is given at length in the London edition of Comines, 1717. Preuves, No. 369.

CHAPTER XXIX.

summary judgment put the minion to death, before the Duke had time to step in to his rescue. These precipitate ministers of justice deemed it necessary to escape into France; and the Lady of Beaujeu found their presence too favourable to her designs not to offer them a cordial welcome.

On the other hand, the Duke of Bretainy received succour and support from the alliance of the heir presumptive of France and of the King of the Romans. Louis, Duke of Orleans, whom Louis XI. had forced into a marriage with his second daughter Joan, grew impatient of Madame Beaujeu's dominion; but though zealously supported by John, Prince of Orange, and other French nobles, his efforts to snatch the reins of government were entirely abortive. As the Regent of France had now commenced the attack upon Duke Francis, Orleans and his adherents retreated into Bretainy; and thus the French aided by the Bretons stood ranged against the Bretons aided by the French. The alliance of Maximilian rested on a twofold foundation. The attempts of the Lady of Beaujeu to foment his troubles in Flanders naturally made him her enemy; and his friendship for the Duke of Bretainy was cemented by his views upon the dutchy and its heiress. In failure of male issue the estates of Francis II. were destined to descend to his daughters Anne and Isabella; and the Archduke, already so amply enriched by his first marriage, was resolved to appropriate a portion of the Breton territory. He declared himself a candidate

for the hand and dowry of the princess Anne; and the future Emperor of the West was too valuable an ally to be neglected by the imbecile Duke of Bretainy. Francis, therefore, consented to the proposed union; and Anne was nowise displeased with the arrangement. She had, indeed, cherished a hopeless passion for Louis, Duke of Orleans, who was already married to Joan of France; but Maximilian was every way worthy her regard; and her union with him promised to deliver her from the odious addresses of the uncouth Alain, Lord of Albret.

The insubordinate spirit of the Flemings had at this time nearly proved fatal to the Archduke Maximilian. The introduction of German troops into the province, and the exaction of heavy contributions, raised new murmurs in Bruges; and Maximilian was induced to visit that city in the hope of allaying the disaffection by his presence. But the flame of insurrection, which was again kindled in Ghent, now spread to Bruges; and the citizens of both towns united in the most outrageous excesses against the ministers, and even the person, of their prince. Maximilian was seized and dragged to the shop of a druggist; his servants were hurried to prison; and several of his counsellors and adherents were beheaded in the market-place. For nearly four months the Archduke endured a rigorous imprisonment in Bruges; and though Brabant, Hainault, and other provinces, interfered in his behalf, he was continually endangered by the

Insurrection of Bruges. Feb. 9th. 1488.

Maximilian imprisoned.

CHAPTER XXIX.

men of Ghent, who were with difficulty prevented from taking possession of his person.

Terrified for the safety of his son and Cæsar, the Emperor struggled against his natural indolence; and hastily collecting a considerable army marched at once to the rescue of the captive Archduke. The Pope was also induced to take part against the insurgents; and his spiritual thunders enhanced the terrours of Frederic's entry into the Netherlands. Alarmed at his approach the Flemings entered into terms with Maximilian, who bound himself by the most solemn oath to observe the conditions of his deliverance from imprisonment. He promised to withdraw the foreign troops from Flanders, to surrender up all the fortresses, to abandon the government of the provinces, and to renounce the guardianship of his son. Upon these conditions the King of the Romans was restored to liberty. But the appearance of the Emperor before Ghent dispensed with the fulfilment of his extorted oath, though he had the moderation to refrain from assisting his father in any active measure against the Flemings.[20]

Maximilian released. 17th May. 1488.

Frederic III. invades Flanders.

The Emperor Frederic laid siege to Ghent, which, aided by a body of French, baffled his efforts to reduce it; and at the end of three months he grew weary of the siege, and retired from before the walls. But the citizens of Bruges paid dearly for their violence. By blockading the port of Sluys, Frederic struck a fatal blow to the commercial interests of that city; cut off from communication with the

[20] Père Daniel tom. VIII. p. 78.—Coxe, vol. I. p. 365.

sea, the trade of Bruges became paralyzed; and Antwerp soon afterwards rose to be the grand staple of the Netherlands.[21] On his departure, the Emperor, after annulling the oath of Maximilian, consigned the government to Albert of Saxony, who was left to struggle with the rebellious Flemings and the secret machinations of the court of France.[22]

The Bretons defeated at St. Aubin. 28th July. 1488.

Meanwhile the French were overrunning Bretainy. Soon after the release of Maximilian and his retirement into Germany, a great battle was fought near St. Aubin du Cormier, in which the Bretons were completely defeated. The Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, and the other French nobles who fought under the standard of the Duke of Bretainy, were taken prisoners by the victorious Trémouille; and all, except the two princes, were beheaded as traitors to the King of France. Duke Francis was reduced to purchase peace by an humiliating treaty, which he survived only a few days.[23]

Death of Francis II. Duke of Bretainy. 9th Sept. 1488.

These disasters placed the young Dutchesses of Bretainy in a deplorable situation. Maximilian, the affianced husband of Anne, was engaged in recovering his Austrian dominions; and her favourite Orleans languished in the tower of Bourges. Henry VII. of England affected to sympathize with the misfortunes of the Bretons; but the forces which he transmitted were wholly inadequate to do them

[21] Thuani Historia, Lib. LI. tom. II. p. 784. folio, Aurelianæ, (Orleans) 1620.—Anderson's Hist. of Commerce, vol. I. p. 520. Macpherson's Annals, vol. I. p. 366. The city was first surrounded by a wall in 1201; and from that time gold and silver money was coined in Antwerp, ibid.

[22] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 52.

[23] Daniel, tom. VIII. p. 77.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1489

service, and the English soon abandoned their allies to the arms of the French.[24] But all parties were now weary of contention. The court of France perceived that the occupation of Bretainy would necessarily occasion a war with Germany; and a new line of policy was henceforth adopted, by which the dutchy might fall into the hands of King Charles. On the other hand, Maximilian, occupied in Germany and harassed by the rebellious Flemings, readily listened to a proposal for peace; and a treaty, including the Breton princesses, was accordingly concluded at Frankfort on the twenty-second of July 1489. The Flemings, now deprived of the assistance of France, reluctantly submitted to Maximilian, to whom they restored the guardianship of his son and paid a fine of three hundred thousand crowns.[25] Soon afterwards the nuptials of Anne of Bretainy and Maximilian were performed by proxy.[26]

Peace of Frankfort 1489.

Anne of Bretainy married to Maximilian; 1491.

This marriage threatened to overthrow the whole fabric of French policy in respect to Bretainy. It had been secretly determined that the young Charles, notwithstanding his solemn engagement to the daughter of Maximilian, should espouse Anne of Bretainy; and the death of Isabella in 1490 having vested the whole dutchy in the surviving princess, the union of Charles with Anne became still more desirable. The pliant conscience of the King of France presented no impediment to this iniquitous project; but the scruples of Anne remained to be conquered. For accomplishing this purpose, Charles

[24] Hume, vol. III. p. 345. [25] Coxe, p. 166. [26] Struvius, p. 781.

resolved to make use of the Duke of Orleans, whose high place in the regards of Anne promised to make him a powerful mediator. The King himself released his cousin from the tower of Bourges, and Orleans undertook to become his advocate in Bretainy.

The Prince of Orange and the Count of Dunois were joined with Louis of Orleans in this difficult and delicate negociation. They had indeed much to overcome. The princess was religiously persuaded of the validity of her marriage with Maximilian and her own personal inclinations were wholly at variance with the thought of an union with Charles. She loved Orleans; she regarded Maximilian; she disliked the King of France; and she hated the French nation as the authors of her own and her father's misfortunes. She was shaken by the persuasions of her suitors; but her mind still revolted from submission to their dictates. Another course was therefore adopted. Charles himself entered Bretainy at the head of an army; the unhappy country was wasted and destroyed; the dutchess was herself in danger; nor could she fail to reproach the King of the Romans with tardiness and indifference to her protection. Borne down by the tongue of persuasion and the hand of force, the distracted princess yielded to her fate; and having consented to be led into France, she became the wife of Charles, and was crowned Queen at St. Denys.

And to Charles VIII. King of France. 13th Dec. 1491.

The negociation for this marriage had been so adroitly and secretly managed that no suspicion ever

CHAPTER XXIX.

crossed the mind of Maximilian; and he learned it with no less indignation than surprise. That the affianced husband of his daughter should have robbed him of his bride was too great a complication of injury for endurance. In the first paroxysm of his wrath, he invited the German Princes to vengeance, and he endeavoured to excite the kings of England and Aragon to take up arms in his quarrel. But the phlegm of the Germans saw with indifference the *private* injury of the Archduke; the Spanish monarch was engaged in completing the capture of Grenada; and the warlike energies of Henry VII. subsided under the influence of the gold of France. But at this time a new object of conquest completely engrossed the thoughts of Charles; and a variety of circumstances concurred to favour the invasion of Naples. To enable him to pursue this grand object of his ambition no sacrifice seemed too great. He secured the neutrality of Spain by ceding to Ferdinand Roussillon and Cerdaigne; and by the cession of the counties of Burgundy, Artois, and Charolois, he contrived to pacify the indignant Maximilian. Those counties, which had been the dowry of Margaret of Austria, were restored to her father by the treaty of Senlis; the rejected Queen of France was conducted with much pomp into Germany; and Charles having stripped himself of these valuable provinces was left at liberty to wander forth in quest of Italian dominion.[27].

Peace of Senlis. 23d May. 1493.

[27] Daniel, p. 121.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Death of Frederic III. 19th of Aug. 1493.

His character.

And here we may close the inglorious life of Frederic III. He died shortly after the peace of Senlis, in the seventy-eighth year of his age and the fifty-fourth of his reign.[28] Perhaps the German Empire was never before dishonoured by so imbecile a master; and under him the imperial authority became a by-word and a mockery. He was by nature superstitious, bigoted, insincere, implacable, irresolute, indolent, and avaricious.[29] He withdrew from public business to his studious lucubrations; but his *studies* were chiefly the chimeras of alchymy and judicial astrology; the registry of ancient maxims; the fantastical puerilities of heraldry; and the elaboration of mystical enigmas.[30] In his latter days his accumulated treasures interfered with these favourite pursuits, and a portion of the day was consumed in counting and arranging his money.[31] Never was man less fitted for presiding over such a body as the German nation, where every member claimed independence of the others; where an unceasing private warfare devastated the country; and where the public peace could only be secured by the judicious interference of the Emperor. But the general welfare seemed little to concern Frederic; his forces were exerted

[28] Struvius, p. 789.

[29] His temperance, however, deserves commendation: he rarely swallowed wine, and then diluted with water.

[30] He puzzled his court by adopting as his device, the five vowels. After his death it was discovered that this was meant to signify, in Latin, Austriæ, est imperare orbi universo;—and in German, Alles Erdreich ist Œstereich unterthan;—a motto singularly unhappy in his case. Struvius, p. 722.

[31] Pfeffel, p. 56.

CHAPTER XXIX.

to grasp at foreign crowns, or protect his paternal territories; and he even frustrated the revived project of dividing the Empire into circles. It is not surprising, therefore, that the princes habitually refused to assist him in his quarrels, and looked on with indifference upon his successes and reverses. Yet fortune, with her usual caprice, seemed fond of this undeserving sovereign; she continually rescued him from the distresses he had courted; and secured for him the election of his son, and the acquisition of the estates of Burgundy.

League of Swabia.

In the latter part of his reign was instituted the famous League of Swabia, intended to preserve that unprotected district from the ravages of the adjacent nobles. By a treaty concluded at Eslingen and ratified by the Emperor, Swabia was divided into four cantons, each commanded by a captain bound to maintain the public peace, and a general was placed over all with a formidable body of troops. To this confederation Berthold, Elector of Mentz, Sigismund, Count of Tyrol, the Margraves of Anspach and Bareuth, and other nobles, soon afterwards acceded; and the tranquillity of Swabia was thus greatly promoted till the dissolution of the league in 1533.[32]

Division of the Diet.

Under this prince, the triple division of the national Diet was completed. As early as the year 1344 we find the College of Electors and the College of Princes assembling in the same hall, while the College of the Cities deliberated apart from the

[32] Pfeffel, p. 53.—Schmidt, vol. IV. p 332. vol. V. p. 328.

other two.[33] At the Diet of Nuremberg in 1467 the Princes were separated from the Electors, and the distinction between the three Estates was permanently established.[34]

Frederic III. was the last of the German Emperors who journeyed to Rome in order to receive his crown from the Pope. Accident prevented his immediate successor from visiting that city; and thenceforward the imperial title was assumed immediately after election.

[33] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 509.

[34] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 40.

CHAPTER XXX.

REVIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY. THE PRINCES.

CHAPTER XXX.

BEFORE we enter upon the reign of the successor of the imbecile Frederic III. it becomes necessary again to revert to Italy, where a series of events had gradually been tending to that crisis which forms a memorable epoch in the history of modern Europe. New dynasties had arisen, new principles of government had been introduced; and instead of a nation admitting allegiance to the sovereign of Germany, Italy became divided into several independent states, each exercising a sovereign authority. Since the retirement of the Popes into France, ten[1] monarchs had ascended the German throne. Of these, five only had repaired to Rome, and their appearance excited the disdain and hatred, rather than the veneration, of the Italians. The arrival of Henry VII. was marked by tumult and bloodshed: the coronation of Lewis V. was at best equivocal; the expeditions of Charles IV. were a series

[1] 1308. Henry VII.
1314. Lewis V.
1349. Gunther.
Charles IV.
1379. Wenceslaus.
1400. Rupert.
1410. Josse.
1411. Sigismund.
1438 Albert II.
1440. Frederic III.

of ignominious bargains and nefarious extortions; Sigismund crossed the Alps more as the King of the Hungarians than the lawful successor of Charlemagne;[2] and the journies of Frederic III. were accompanied by nothing like reverence or submission. The little connexion of the histories of Germany and Italy during this long period has compelled me for a season to confine my narrative to the former country; and an incidental mention of events and persons has been made only when these were connected with the imperial annals. I now recur to the Italian states during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, desiring to present rather the spirit of the times and the progress of the several governments, than a minute detail of the wars and intrigues which perpetually perplexed the Italian counsels.

I. The Popedom.

The general history of the Empire has already conducted us through the long and stormy reign of Eugenius IV. to the more tranquil days of Nicholas V. whose reign was terminated on the 24th of March 1455.—Amidst the crowd of names which swell the catalogue of Popes from the first to the fifteenth century, scarcely one stands forward to claim the gratitude of posterity. The efforts of those who have the greatest pretensions to fame were principally directed to the aggrandisement of the papal power, or the promotion of their own relatives. But Nicholas V. deserves our respect as the steady friend and encourager of every species

Nicholas V. 1447-1445.

[2] Pfeffel, tom. I. p. 588.

CHAPTER XXX.

of liberal learning. Born in an obscure station of life, and eager to store his mind amidst the disadvantages of poverty and privation, the humble son of an indigent physician emerged from the lowest offices of the church to the highest reach of spiritual and temporal grandeur. The elevation of Nicholas was the word of gladness to the infancy of science. His court was crowded with the studious of every nation; and ample rewards awaited the prosecution of literary labour. The Greek language, already familiarized to Italy by the zeal of Petrarca and Boccaccio, was greatly encouraged by this learned Pontiff, under whose auspices the pages of Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, Plato, Aristotle, Polybius, and other illustrious Grecians, were explored and translated. Books of every age and language were rapidly collected in Rome, and the Library of the Vatican claims Nicholas as its founder. Nor was the embellishment of the city neglected by this diligent patron of genius; new palaces and churches were created by his liberality; and a new Basilica of St. Peter was about to arise, when death suspended the designs of the magnificent Pontiff.[3]

The memory of Nicholas, however, has not escaped reproach, and he has been accused of cruelty in his treatment of Porcaro and his accomplices. But this visionary republican (who persuaded himself that Petrarca had prophesied of

[3] Platina —Tiraboschi, tom. VI Lib. 1. c. 2.—Sismondi, tom. X. p. 13.—Fea, Descriz. di Roma, p. 14. Roma, 1822.

him) avowedly aimed at subverting the authority of the Pope, and repeatedly experienced the indulgence of the object of his antipathy. After being tolerated, admonished, and removed from Rome, the deluded enthusiast persisted in his treason to the existing government, until the reluctant guardian of the state inflicted tardy justice on the incorrigible traitor.[4]

Calixtus III. 1455-1458.

Pius II. 1458-1464.

After the short pontificate of Alfonso Borgia, a Spaniard, under the title of Calixtus III., the celebrated Æneas Sylvius, or Pius II., was raised to the popedom. Immediately upon his elevation, he put forth a Bull of retractation of his former *errors;* and the world was enjoined to reject the heretical tenets of the secretary of the Council of Basle, and receive the more matured opinions of the head of the Church. Though himself the author of many vigorous works, he seems to have afforded no remarkable assistance to the labours of others; and with the reputation of a scholar, an orator, an historian, and a wit,[5] owed his chief consideration to the subtilty of his political negociations. After he became Pope, his main object appears to have been the incitement of the powers of Europe to a new crusade against the Turks. To this hopeless undertaking he devoted all his energies; and even sacrificed his life to his zeal. Finding that a body of troops was collected at Ancona, he resolved to pro-

[4] See the conspiracy and execution of Porcaro, in Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 383.

[5] The excellent sayings of Pius are celebrated and quoted by Platina; from which it would seem that the character of a wit was, in his days, not very difficult of attainment.

CHAPTER XXX.

ceed thither, in the vain hope that his presence at the port of embarcation would quicken the sluggish crusaders. In the course of his journey his health became affected; the disease was augmented by his disappointment at the non-arrival of the promised succours; and his strength rapidly failing, he sank under his affliction, and expired on the 13th of August 1464. His character is unsullied by any predominating vice; and the greatest stain upon his fame is his relinquishing his hostility to the papal encroachments, when he became dazzled by the splendour of the court of Rome. We must also lament that one so capable of appreciating men of genius should have done so little towards their support and encouragement.

Paul II 1464-71.

But the character of Pius shines forth with redoubled lustre when contrasted with that of his immediate successor. Our wonder must be excited that the same cardinals who had either elected, or been promoted by, the accomplished Sylvius, could endure to substitute in his place the narrow-minded and illiterate Paul II. A Venetian by birth he had been bred to trade, and first ventured to attack the rudiments of learning on the election of his uncle, Eugenius IV. His application, thus sordidly commenced, produced a slender result; and his consideration amongst his brother cardinals seems to have been founded upon his comely person and courteous deportment. His character is chiefly remarkable for an effeminate love of fine apparel, a puerile delight in pageants, an insatiable thirst for

money, and a barbarous diligence in persecuting learned men and suppressing academies of science. On his accession, he was with difficulty dissuaded from yielding to his transports of self-admiration and assuming the title of Formosus II. He was guilty of perfidy and perjury by refusing to comply with certain reforms in the papal administration, which, in common with the rest of the Conclave, he had sworn to effectuate in case of his election. The cravings of his covetousness embroiled him in a dispute with Ferdinand I. King of Naples, from whom he claimed a long arrear of tribute. The meanness of his military conceptions was displayed in his abortive attack on Rimini, which he in vain attempted to wrest from the hands of Roberto, the natural son of Sigismondo Malatesta. He fell a victim to a voracious appetite, and the sudden close of his ignominious career was imputed to an inordinate consumption of melons.[6] He was then in the fifty-fourth year of his age and the seventh of his reign, and his vigorous frame promised length of life. Besides the infamy he acquired by his persecution of learning, he deserves our reprobation for having busied his sacrilegious hands in the demolition of the Coliseum.[7]

The successor of Paul was Francesco della Ro-

[6] When we read in Platina, that Paul's favourite diet consisted of melons, crabs, sweetmeats, fish, and bacon, his sudden death will not excite our surprise.

[7] For the erection of the palace adjoining the church of St. Mark. Paulus Jovius, Lib. II. tom. I. p. 24. Edit. Paris. 1558.—Dupin (vol. XIII. c. 3.) attributes the red hats of the cardinals to this Pope;—but these are as old as the first council of Lyons, A.D. 1245. All that Paul did was to prohibit other persons than cardinals from wearing red. See Platina.

CHAPTER XXX.

Sixtus IV. 1471–1484.

vere, who, from a poor Franciscan friar, became Cardinal of St. Peter *ad vincula*, and now Pope by the title of Sixtus IV. A tumult in Rome on the day of his coronation nearly proved fatal to him; unhappily for the peace of Italy he escaped the danger, and enjoyed a reign of more than ordinary duration.

The papal states.

It may be matter of surprise that, after the long protracted absence of the Popes from Italy, after the disturbed condition of affairs during the fourteenth century and the general defection of the ecclesiastical states in 1376, the holy see should with so little difficulty have recovered its possessions, and received the homage of many nobles who had grown strong in usurpation. Yet before the middle of the fifteenth century the Pope exercised his sovereign authority over nearly all the territories that his predecessors had legitimately claimed. Viterbo, Montefiascone, Spoleto, Foligno, and Perugia again returned to their obedience. The marches of Ancona and Fermo, after their reduction by Albornoz, maintained their fidelity to the Church. Bologna, after innumerable revolutions, a long vacillation between the Popes and the Visconti, and some abortive attempts at complete independence, once more gave herself to the holy see. The Malatesti in Rimini,[8] the Ordelaffi in Forli,[9] and the Montefeltri in Urbino,[10] acknow-

[8] See Appendix, Table XLIV. [9] Table XLV.

[10] Federico Montefeltro, Count of Urbino, was created Duke by Sixtus IV. in 1474. Table XLVI.

ledged themselves the papal vassals; as did also Alessandro Sforza, who had become Lord of Pesaro. The Manfredi, however, contrived to retain the sovereignty of Faenza and Imola;[11] and Ravenna, after being, long governed by the noble family of Polenta,[12] was taken possession of by the Venetians in 1441.[13]

But though the domain of the papal states was so far recovered, the influence of the Popes had gradually declined since the reign of Boniface VIII: however potent in their own territory, they no longer exercised uncontrolled power in the dominions of foreign princes; and in attempting to enforce the pretensions of Gregory VII. and Innocent III., they were continually thwarted and put to confusion. The flagitious lives of many of the Pontiffs undermined their claims to infallibility; and in the struggles which took place between Rome and Avignon incalculable damage was sustained by the papal authority. Thus the way was paved for defection from the self-constituted head of the Christian Church: heresies were multiplied; adherents were detached; and the hour was fast approaching when great part of Europe was to renounce the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

II. Kingdom of Naples.

II. Whilst the pontifical keys were thus shifted

[11] The Manfredi were deprived of Faenza and Imola by Cardinal Albornoz (1356). Gian-Galeazzo de' Manfredi again got possession of Faenza in 1410; and his son, or grandson, Guidantonio recovered Imola from Filippo Visconte 1439, who had wrested it from Lodovico degl' Alidosi in 1421.—Murat. Ann. Table XLVII.

[12] Table XLVIII. [13] Murat. Ann.

CHAPTER XXX.

from hand to hand, and the chair ascended by men so various in character and projects, no less remarkable and important changes were taking place in the dynasty of Naples. The reign of Ladislaus, the son and successor of Charles III., presents a continued scene of perfidy and rapine. Whilst he successfully defended his Neapolitan crown against the attempts of the Duke of Anjou, he seized for a moment that of Hungary; and availed himself of the great schism and the absence of the Pope from Rome continually to harass and pillage the Romans. No treaties of amity could restrain his thirst for plunder; he thrice led his troops to attack the devoted city, seized on the Castle of St. Angelo, and occupied Ostia, Viterbo, and great part of the Patrimony of St. Peter. His ravages were suspended by a premature death; and in him providence is said to have anticipated a pest which in the next age became the scourge of European incontinence.[14] Though three times married, Ladislaus left no legitimate issue. Unbounded in his lust, he forsook his wives for his more libidinous paramours. Constantia, his first queen, irreproachable in her fame, was divorced by her inconstant husband; Maria of Cyprus, the second, died through an effort to stimulate her own barrenness; and the third, the widow of Orsino, Prince of Tarento, was espoused for the acquisition of her territories, and abandoned

Ladislaus. 1386-1414.

1403.

1404.

1408.

1413.

[14] Monstrelet (vol. IV. c. 13.) gives another version of the death of Ladislaus.—Pignotti (Storia della Toscana, Liv. IV. c. 8. note 15.) justly rejects the story of the physician's *poisoned* daughter.

to neglect and imprisonment immediately after the nuptial ceremonies. He was succeeded by his sister, Johanna II.; but the royal bed of Naples acquired little purity by the exchange.[15]

Johanna II. 1414-1435.

Johanna was already the widow of William, son of Leopold II. Duke of Austria,[16] when the death of Ladislaus exalted her to the throne of Naples. Equally devoid of personal charms and mental delicacy, the Princess scorned the irksome restraints of virtue and of rank. Her lovers were selected according to her caprice without reference to their station; and the fortunate possessor of her affections, on her accession to the crown, was Pandolfello Alopo, whom she raised, from the humble station of carver, to the office of grand chamberlain.[17] The irregularities of her life and the default of an heir to the throne prompted her nobles to recommend a second marriage; and she fixed upon a prince of the house of Bourbon, Jacques de la Marche, the fourth in lineal succession from Robert, youngest son of St. Louis.

She marries Jacques de la Marche. 1415.

But if Johanna flattered herself that in her new husband she was to find a screen, and not a check, to her vices, she was immediately undeceived; for no sooner was the obscure count exalted into the King of Naples, than he seized upon Alopo; and

[15] Giannone, Lib. XXIV. c. 5. 8.—Murat. Ann. 1400–1414.

[16] Denina Lib. XVII. c. 1.) mistakenly calls her the widow of the Duke himself.

[17] Brantome, with his usual quaintness, observes, "Chambellan estoit il de vray; car il la servoit bien, et ordinairement en sa chambre, jour et nuit, si non sans grande rumeur du peuple et des courtisans." Œuvres, tom. II. p. 509. Edit. 1787.

CHAPTER XXX.

in the agonies of the rack the distracted lover betrayed his intercourse with his mistress. The grand chamberlain was publicly beheaded; and the Queen herself reduced to personal restraint of no great severity or duration. The people, indignant at seeing their Queen thus imprisoned by a foreigner,

1416. burst into insurrection; and the King was compelled to seek shelter in the Castel dell' Uovo. His surrender was rewarded by the acknowledgment of his royal title; and a stipend of forty thousand ducats a year; a sum, says the Historian, not exceeding the incomes of the Neapolitan gentry. The French monarch did not long enjoy this semblance of royalty. He found himself the sport of his faithless consort and her minions;—his person was

1419. again insulted by imprisonment; and his countrymen were commanded to depart the kingdom. Having again recovered his liberty, he resolved no longer to be cheated by the dreams of ambition; and renouncing his adulterous queen and ungovernable subjects, he privately withdrew from Naples, and retired into France, where he ended his days in the habit of a Franciscan friar.[18]

Amongst the most conspicuous of Johanna's favourites were Jacopo Attendolo, surnamed Sforza, and Ser-Gianni Caracciolo, both distinguished for

Jacopo Sforza.

their personal beauty. The former, the son of a peasant of Cotignola in Romagna, had joined in early life the mercenary troops of Italy; and after serving with renown under the banners of Ferrara,

[18] In 1438.

of Florence, and of the Church, entered the Neapolitan service, and was treated with distinction by the Queen upon her accession to the throne. The jealousy of the minion Pandolfello Alopo procured the imprisonment of Sforza; but he was soon reconciled to his rival; and being released from his dungeon was created by Johanna grand constable of the kingdom. During the transient reign of Jacques de la Marche he had again languished in prison; but on his release was restored to his former dignity. Meanwhile a new favourite was daily gaining unbounded influence over the susceptible heart of Queen Johanna. Caracciolo, a man of birth and discretion, and of a handsome and graceful person, was promoted to the office of grand seneschal; and procured the removal of Sforza from court upon the honourable employment of checking the ravages of the mercenary Braccio. But the return of the victorious Sforza and the rivalry of the two favourites soon filled the city with confusion; and Johanna could only quiet the murmurs of her people by consenting to the banishment of the beloved Caracciolo. The place of his exile was, however, too near the city to prevent his interference in public affairs; and, from the island of Procida, Sergianni continued to exert his influence over his queen and mistress. He again procured the removal of Sforza for the purpose of dislodging Braccio from the Patrimony of St. Peter; but he took care that his rival should

Sergianni Caracciolo.

CHAPTER XXX.

be so poorly supported by troops that his defeat and ruin appeared inevitable.

This unfortunate collision between the favourites was destined to produce the most disastrous consequences, not merely to the kingdom of Naples, but to the whole of Italy. Indignant at the preference shewn to Caracciolo, Sforza abandoned his mistress, and encouraged Louis III. the young Duke of Anjou to make good his pretensions to the Neapolitan throne by invading Johanna. In Naples, a strong spirit existed favourable to the claims of Louis. The inordinate affection of the Queen for Caracciolo (who was now again restored to her arms) had estranged the nobility from her cause; and she deemed it prudent to seek the support of some foreign potentate sufficiently powerful to counteract the designs of her enemies. She, therefore, addressed herself to Alfonso V. King of Aragon, whom she promised to adopt as her successor in the throne of Naples. This offer being accepted by Alfonso, he set sail for his new inheritance, and received the formal adoption from the childless Johanna, with the title of Duke of Calabria and possession of the Castel Nuovo. By this judicious step the Queen extricated herself from the pressing danger: Louis of Anjou was staggered in his hopes; and after a feeble siege of Naples, yielded to necessity and abandoned his enterprise. Sforza now found means to seal his pardon, and was received with the utmost cordiality by Johanna and Alfonso.

Johanna adopts Alfonso V. King of Aragon; 1420.

The re-appearance of his ancient rival at the Neapolitan court could not fail to awaken the jealous and angry feelings of Caracciolo; who had already perceived his authority endangered by the adoption of Alfonso. To sow the seeds of dissension was now his object, and the unbounded influence which he possessed over Johanna gave the utmost facility to his sinister designs. He succeeded in persuading the credulous Queen that the Spaniard had resolved at once to usurp the succession, and designed to dethrone her and carry her by force into Catalonia. Terrified at this dismal suggestion, Alfonso became an object of distrust to Johanna. She shut herself up in the Castel Nuovo; and the seizure and imprisonment of the beloved Sergianni filled up the measure of her alarm and horrour. Abjuring all farther connexion with the King of Aragon she summoned Sforza to her relief, and revoking her late adoption bestowed the succession upon Louis of Anjou.[19] The partial defeat of Alfonso and the consequent exchange of prisoners once more restored Caracciolo to the Queen; but the unhappy kingdom was delivered over to the miseries of war, the troops of Johanna being led by Sforza, and those of Alfonso by his rival Braccio. The disorders of his Spanish dominions withdrew the King for the present from Italy; and, with the exception of the Castel Nuovo, Johanna was left in quiet possession of the kingdom; but not before the two generals had perished in this desperate

And Louis III. Duke of Anjou; 1423.

1424.

[19] See Table XLIX.

CHAPTER XXX.

struggle. Sforza, in his eager attempt to swim the river Pescara, then unusually swoln by the influx of the sea, fell a sacrifice to his generous endeavour to save his drowning page; and borne down by the additional weight of his armour he sank to rise no more. His son Francesco Sforza narrowly escaped a similar fate, and was destined to attain a glorious and triumphant elevation. The death of Braccio was more congenial to his tumultuous life; he fell mortally wounded in a desperate conflict, wherein his forces were utterly routed.

After the retreat of Alfonso from Naples, Johanna continued to enjoy an unmolested reign. Age had quenched the fires of lust; the life of her once-loved Sergianni was sacrificed to jealousy and suspicion; and he was assassinated with the connivance, if not by the command, of his mistress. Her adopted son Louis expired in 1434, to the great grief of Johanna and her subjects. She herself survived but a few weeks; and died in 1435 in the sixty-fifth year of her age and twenty-first of her reign. With her ended the race of Durazzo. By her will she bequeathed the kingdom of Naples to René, Duke of Anjou, brother of Louis; and the adopted heir languished in the prison of the Duke of Burgundy, when he was apprized of his nomination to the fairest kingdom of the earth. His wife Isabella assumed the regency in his absence, and took possession of Naples.

She bequeaths the kingdom to René Duke of Anjou. 1435.

The claims of Alfonso were now again to be urged, and he marched at the head of an army to

enforce his pretensions. A singular misfortune which befel the King in his progress proved highly beneficial to his cause. Whilst he laid siege to Gaieta, a fleet from Genoa despatched by order of Filippo Visconte, the reigning Duke of Milan, attacked and defeated the Spanish armament; and the King, his brother John, King of Navarre, Henry of Aragon, and a host of nobles, were sent prisoners to Milan.[20] By a remarkable exercise of clemency and moderation, the Duke restored his captives gratuitously to liberty; and even entered into a league with Alfonso, promising to assist him in the conquest of Naples.[21] CHAPTER XXX.

Whilst a new fleet from Spain was again directed against Naples; René purchased his liberty; and repairing to his new dominions, maintained a doubtful contest with his rival during four years. In the middle of the year 1442 the final blow was struck by the entry of Alfonso into the capital, through the self-same aqueduct which nearly nine hundred years before had admitted the soldiers of Belisarius.[22] Conquest of Naples by Alfonso V. 1442.

[20] The engagement is minutely detailed by Mariana. Lib. XXI. c. 9.

[21] This generous conduct of Philip is bitterly contrasted by Æneas Sylvius with the mercenary treatment shewn by the Elector Palatine, Frederic I., towards his prisoners (Ante p. 106)—Ea Palatini liberalitas fuit et animi magnificentia et gloria Baioaricæ gentis. Idem factitavit Alexander victo in India Poro: *idem Philippus Maria captis navali prælio Regibus,* quorum alter Alfonsus septem præfuit regnis. Non tantum auri Palatinus ab infelicibus captivis exegit, *quamvis totum extorsit quod potuit,* quantum victor Philippus donavit victis. Utraque liberalitas fuit. Palatinus suis captivis ademptis bonis miseram donavit vitam; Philippus quos vicerat, non solum vivere, sed bene vivere jussit, ditioresque reddidit, quam fuerant ante captivitatem.—Comment. Pii II. Lib. II. apud Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 282.

[22] See Gibbon, vol. VII. p. 220.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Duke of Anjou, no longer able to contend with the fortunes of his rival, withdrew into France; and Alfonso at length obtained from Pope Eugenius IV. the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, which his holiness had previously conferred upon René. After a pause of eleven years René was induced to reappear in Italy at the pressing instance of the Duke of Milan, who tempted him to take up arms against Venice, under a promise to afford his assistance in wresting Naples from the Spaniard. But the French prince, now advanced in years, soon grew weary of
1453. the toils of a campaign, and readily yielded to the anxiety of his troops to return to their native regions.[23]

Alfonso survived this event only five years, and died on the 27th of June 1458. His memory, though defaced by inordinate ambition and ungoverned lust, deserves respect from his talents and liberal cultivation and encouragement of learning, and he was beyond doubt the most considerable sovereign of his age. His paternal dominions, Aragon and Sicily, vested in default of legitimate issue in his brother John, King of Navarre: but he bequeathed the kingdom of Naples, his *conquest*, to his natural son Ferdinand.[24] Pope Calixtus III., however, refused to acknowledge the bastard son of Alfonso, and upon feudal principles insisted that the kingdom had escheated to the holy see for default of heritable blood. Ferdinand was solemnly for-

[23] Giannone, Lib. XXV. c. 1–7. Mariana, Lib. XXI. XXII. Sismondi, tom. IX. 425.

[24] See Appendix, Table L.

bidden to assume the Neapolitan crown, and the Pope destined his nephew Pietro Borgia to ascend the vacant throne. CHAPTER XXX.

The character of Ferdinand differed widely from that of his father. He was morose, treacherous, and vindictive, and early in life became hateful to the people he was now called upon to govern. Soon after he assumed the crown, his security was endangered by internal discontent and foreign invasion. Though René of Anjou seemed content to forego his claim to the throne, his son John, styling himself Duke of Calabria, marched an army into Italy, and for a time the cause of Ferdinand appeared entirely lost. His subjects declared for the house of Anjou, and many of the Italian powers were in arms against him. An entire defeat reduced him to the last extremity; and he was only preserved by the neglect of John to follow up his victory and march upon the capital. His delay enabled Ferdinand to rally his shattered forces; and after a variety of conflicts, a great victory over the Anjevin forces near Troia re-established his fortunes. The allies of John grew lukewarm; and despairing of success he withdrew from the contest, leaving his rival undisputed master of the kingdom.[25] Ferdinand I. 1458 1494. 1459. 1462.

III. I have already had occasion to speak of the *Dutchy* of Milan, a dynasty which had its origin at the close of the fourteenth century. In the early struggle of the Lombard cities for liberty, their

[25] Murat. Ann.—Machiav. Ist. Fior. Lib. VI.—Giannone, Lib. XXVI. XXVII.—Mariana, Lib. XXIII. c. 2.

CHAPTER XXX.

avowed aim was to free themselves from subjection to the monarchs of Germany. But whilst they thus laboured for *independence* of a foreign power they suffered their republican freedom to be undermined, and surrendered their liberties into the hands of a few predominant families. The Visconti,[26] the Scala,[27] the Carrara,[28] and the Gonzaghi, ruled their several territories with despotic authority, and their states passed in hereditary succession from the father to the son, or from the uncle to the nephew. The history of these families becomes, therefore, the history of the cities subjected to their sway; and the prosperity or adversity of the people frequently depended upon the disposition or caprice of a single ruler. But of all these noble families that of the Visconti became by far the most conspicuous, and by its grasping ambition challenged the enmity of the Italian powers. Gian-Galeazzo Visconte carried the glory of his house to the highest pitch. After the death of his father, the artifices of this insidious prince triumphed over his uncle Bernabò, himself a compound of cruelty and dissimulation. By the seizure and murder of this uncle (whose daughter Caterina he had married) he became possessed of all the dominions of his family;

1387. and by the ruin of the Scala, he added Verona and Vicenza to his possessions. For a moment he wrested Padua from the Carrara, but was compelled by the other powers to abandon his prey. From Wenceslaus, King of the Romans, he purchased the

[26] Table XXXVII. [27] Table XXXIX. [28] Table XLI.

title of DUKE of Milan, which he bore together with that of Count of Pavia. His dominions extended over the greater portion of Lombardy, from Vercelli to Belluno, and from Como to Sarzana.[29] Encompassed by this powerful enemy, Francesco Gonzaga was in continual danger of losing Mantua; and the interference of Venice alone prevented its falling into the hands of the rapacious Duke.[30] Nor were his acquisitions confined to Lombardy; he purchased Pisa from her treacherous governor, Gherardo Appiano; and prevailed on Siena, Lucca, and Perugia, to call him master. He turned his arms against Giovanni Bentivoglio, Lord of Bologna; the people favoured his designs; and Bentivoglio expiated the errors of his government in the great square of the city. Even Florence was menaced by his ambition, when the plague cut him off in the fifty-fifth year of his age. By his will he divided the greater portion of his dominions between his two legitimate sons; to the elder, Gian-Maria, he bequeathed the Dutchy of Milan; to the second, Filippo-Maria, the county of Pavia: but Pisa, Sar-

1398.

1399.

1400.

1402.

1402.

[29] The lands which he received as the imperial fief were, the dutchy of Milan, the county of Pavia, Brescia, Bergamo, Como, Novara, Vercelli, Alessandria, Tortona, Bobbio, Parma, Placentia, Reggio, Cremona, Lodi, Crema, Soncino, Borgo San Donnino, Verona, Vicenza, Feltre, Belluno, Bassano, Sarzana, and Carrara.

[30] The pretence of this aggression was, that Francesco had six years before put to death his wife, Agnese Visconte, the daughter of Bernabò and therefore cousin and sister-in-law of the Duke of Milan, upon a false accusation of adultery. There is every reason to believe the unfortunate Agnese was innocent, as well as that the accusation was the contrivance of Gian-Galeazzo himself, who had already murdered her father and brothers.

CHAPTER XXX.

zana, and Crema, were bestowed on his favourite bastard, Gabriello Visconte.[31]

Gian-Maria Visconte. 1402-1412.

As the heir to the dutchy had barely attained the age of fourteen, his father entrusted the government to his widow Caterina, to Francesco Gonzaga, and to the principal commanders of his forces. But as these soldiers of fortune were interested only on their own advancement, the utmost confusion prevailed in Milan, and the dutchess and her son were compelled to seek security in the citadel. The long forgotten names of Guelph and Ghibellin again resounded through Lombardy; and in a short space

1403.

of time the dutchy was stripped of all its dependent cities. Some, indeed, maintained a nominal submission; but the rulers were too intent on their own interest to be relied on; and the pontifical army had little difficulty in procuring the restitution of Bologna and Perugia to the Pope. Siena revolted from the ducal vicar: Cremona gave herself to Ugolino Cavalcabò: Parma, and Reggio were seized by the condottiere Ottobuono de' Terzi; Brescia, by another adventurer, Pandolfo Malatesta. Vercelli, Novara, and other towns in Piedmont, fell into the hands of the marquisses of Montferrat and Saluzzo. Verona, after an obstinate resistance,

[31] Froissart (vol. IV. c. 62.) is very indignant with the Duke for his holding a correspondence with the "miscreant king" Bajazet, to whom he was in the habit of sending presents of dogs, hawks, and fine linen, in return for cloth of gold and precious stones; adding sometimes very useful information relative to the proceedings of his Christian adversaries.—The despotic manner in which the Visconti ruled their territories appears by the same chapter, which contains many curious particulars relative to the family.

surrendered to Francesco da Carrara; and Vicenza escaped his power by being ceded, together with Feltre and Belluno, to the Venetians. Besides these heavy losses, domestic strife aggravated the misfortunes of Milan; and a fierce quarrel between the dutchess and her son was terminated by her imprisonment and death. In the mean time the flame spread to Pavia, and the young Count, Filippo was consigned to a dungeon. The dominion of the bastard Gabriello over Pisa and Sarzana was of brief duration; and he was compelled to sell the former city to the Florentines, to the great indignation of her citizens.

Amidst these disasters, the young Duke, now fast attaining his majority, evinced a fierceness and brutality of disposition which detached from him the last remnant of his adherents. Amongst his favourite diversions was the pastime of beholding his well-trained bloodhounds lacerate the limbs of those subjects who incurred his displeasure; and his repeated barbarities grew past endurance. At length a conspiracy was set on foot for his destruction; and, during mass in the church of St. Gothard, he was despatched by two blows. After his murder a struggle prevailed between his brother Filippo-Maria and Astorre, the natural son of Bernabò Visconte, whose intrepidity caused him to be styled "The soldier without fear." His efforts, however, to supplant the legitimate heir were unavailing: whilst defending the citadel of Monza his leg was shattered by a stone; and his death,[32]

Filippo-Maria Visconte. 1412-1447.

[32] His body, being disinterred so late as the year 1698, was found entire,

CHAPTER XXX.

which immediately ensued, left Filippo-Maria in undisputed possession of the poor remains of his father's once extensive dukedom.

It was the good fortune of the new Duke to retain amongst his commanders Francesco Bosone, surnamed Carmagnuola; and by the skill and prowess of this renowned general many of the lost territories of Milan were rapidly re-captured. Bergamo, Placentia, Como, and Lodi, were again annexed to the dutchy; Cremona, Parma, Brescia, Crema, and Asti once more submitted; and Genoa yielded to the arms of Carmagnuola. These signal services were rewarded by the duke with wealth and honours; who united the meritorious warrior to one of his natural daughters, and even adopted him as his successor in the dukedom, by the name of Francesco Visconte.

Carmagnuola.

His well-earned trophies, however, were not long to be worn by the gallant Carmagnuola. Every day proved to him that having reached the highest point in his sovereign's favour, the fickleness or jealousy of the Duke forbad him to look for a continuance of his regard. Without being able to ascertain the cause of his disgrace, he found himself deprived of his command, and even excluded from the ducal presence; and he indignantly quitted the court of Milan, denouncing vengeance on the ungrateful Filippo. As Venice was now in league with Florence and some less considerable states in

except the broken leg. Muratori, who saw the disinterment, attests this fact, but warns his readers against attributing the preservation of the corpse to the extraordinary sanctity of Astorre. An. 1412.

order to check the increasing power of the duke, Carmagnuola offered his services to the Venetian government, and was entrusted with the command of the allied army. The capture of Brescia and other considerable cities soon reduced the Duke to alarming extremities, and he was happy to purchase a respite from this ruinous warfare by ceding Bergamo and great part of the Cremonese to Venice.[33] 1428. But the good fortune of Carmagnuola forsook him in a new campaign against his former master; he received a complete overthrow by the Milanese troops under Nicolò Piccinino, a defeat which was rendered doubly disastrous by its mainly contributing to the discomforture of the Venetian fleet two days afterwards. Whilst the Venetian gallies were attacked in the Po by those of Milan, the defeated general, encamped on the neighbouring shore, was repeatedly summoned to the assistance of his naval colleague. But though Carmagnuola was still at the head of a considerable armament he made no effort to accede to the call; and under the eyes of the troops of Venice their fleet was entirely destroyed, with the loss of eight thousand prisoners. The republic, smarting under these losses, now resolved upon the destruction of their defeated commander. Carmagnuola was invited to Venice and received by the dissembling senate with marked distinction; but at the moment whilst he assisted at their deliberations he was consigned to a dungeon; and the confession of treason, extorted by the rack,

CHAPTER XXX.

[33] Murat. Ann. 1424–1428.

CHAPTER XXX.

was alledged in excuse for his execution, which took place shortly afterwards, between the two pillars close to the ducal palace.[34]

1432.

After a short peace, the restless and ambitious spirit of the Duke of Milan again agitated Italy; and the papal dominions, as well as those of Florence, were the objects of his rapacity. After ravaging Romagna and defeating the Florentines at Anghiari,[35] the Milanese general Piccinino was recalled into Lombardy once more to the attack of Venice. But besides her trusty general Gattamelata, the republic had secured the services of Francesco Sforza, son of Jacopo, the favourite of Johanna II. Queen of Naples. Francesco, endowed with the military talents of his father, after leading the forces of the Duke of Milan, saw reason to abandon his patron, and devoted himself to the service of Venice. He was now opposed to Piccinino his former companion in arms, and the annals of Italy are swelled with the splendid exploits of these great commanders. But the genius of Sforza, if not superior to, was at least more fortunate than, that of his rival; and his glory was completed by a triumphant campaign in which he discomfited Piccinino and rescued Verona and Brescia from the hands of Filippo. During a short interval of peace, the Duke of Milan diligently laboured to recover the friendship of Sforza, who was won over by the

Francesco Sforza.

1439.

1441.

[34] Sismondi, tom. VIII. p. 424.

[35] A. D. 1440. This battle is famous for the loss of *one* man. Machiavelli Ist. Fior. Lib. V.

offer of Cremona and the hand of Bianca, the natural daughter of Filippo. But the latter years of this inconstant prince were spent in turmoil and distraction, and his new son-in-law became the object of his bitterest persecution. Again reconciled to the Duke, and again exposed to his malice, Sforza still had good reason for preserving his connexion with Milan; since Filippo had no legitimate issue, and his marriage with Bianca encouraged hopes of his succession to the dutchy. At the close of his life, the Duke again invoked the aid of Sforza against the Venetians, and immediately afterwards terminated his tumultuous reign. With him ended the dynasty of the Visconti in Milan. Without possessing the personal courage which distinguished many of his family, Filippo-Maria Visconte was endowed with no common share of that keenness and subtlety which are frequently more efficacious than wisdom and valour. He has been praised for the clemency and generosity with which he treated his prisoners; no inconsiderable merit in an age full of perfidy and cruelty, when, the gates of the prison once closed upon the captive, his fate remained matter of doubt and secrecy. We have already seen his extraordinary moderation, when Alfonso of Aragon and his noble companions were led prisoners to Milan; nor are there wanting other examples of the magnanimous conduct of Filippo. But a dark stain rests upon his fame, from his unfeeling treatment of his dutchess Beatrice, whose alliance and ample fortune had rendered him

End of the Visconti. 1447.

CHAPTER XXX.

the most signal service, when in the outset of his reign he was beset by poverty and threatened with expulsion from his paternal inheritance. An improbable accusation of adultery with one of his
1418. domestics stretched the devoted victims on the rack; and condemned by the ravings of her imputed paramour the dutchess suffered an ignominious death. In the last moments of her life Beatrice maintained a calmness which can seldom be commanded by guilt; and died with such solemn assertions of her innocence as seem to have convinced all save her obdurate husband.

Though the Milanese had long acquiesced in the hereditary succession of the Visconti, Sforza beheld his hopes endangered by the spirit of liberty which now prevailed in Milan.[36] The late duke left no less than four wills, each constituting a different successor, and bequeathing the dutchy according to the momentary dictates of his capricious temper. By one of these, Bianca the wife of Sforza, was declared his heir; but the people rejected this attempt to dispose of them and the state, and with loud shouts of "Liberty" opposed the pretensions of Francesco. Despairing of present success, Sforza wisely resolved to temporize; and his views were soon favoured by the proceedings of Venice. Anxious to enrich herself with the spoils of Milan, that

[36] Had the *legitimate female* succession been admitted, the real heir to the dutchy was Charles de Valois, Duke of Orleans; whose father married Valentina Visconte, daughter of the first Duke, Gian-Galeazzo, and was assassinated in 1407.—Charles died in 1466 leaving a son, afterwards Louis XII. King of France.

republic immediately commenced aggressions on the Milanese territory, and Sforza was called upon by the citizens to lead their army against the invaders. But while Sforza affected to defend the interests of Milan, he secretly negociated with Venice; and at length, renouncing his allegiance to the Milanese, attacked their domains, and with the aid of the Venetians carried his conquests to the very gates of the city. In the height of his success Sforza found his prospects endangered by the perfidious policy of his ally. The Senate alarmed at his approaching power now thought fit to intimate the necessity of suffering Milan to remain free under its new republican government, and even entered into a treaty with the Milanese for the preservation of their liberty and territory. The genius of Sforza triumphed in this emergency; he baffled the confederate hostility of Venice and Milan; and by a strict blockade of the city reduced the citizens to the last stage of famine. Within the walls a considerable party were ready to surrender into his hands; and the populace maddened by hunger anxiously besought their rulers to capitulate. An insurrection of a few plebeians drove the *Regents* from the palace; and Sforza was received into the city with a burst of enthusiasm which saluted him by the title of Duke of Milan.[37]

CHAPTER XXX.

Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan. 1450-1466.

For four years Sforza encountered the enmity of Venice, until the peace of Lodi in 1454 put an end to their languid warfare. He governed Milan

[37] Murat. Ann.—Sismondi, tom. IX. p. 258-320. See Table XXXVIII.

CHAPTER XXX.

during sixteen years with prudence and moderation; and, already possessed of a splendid territory, he wisely abstained from risking his possessions by any wanton aggression upon the other states. He availed himself, however, of the internal commotions of Genoa, who in 1435 had revolted from Filippo Visconte, and now again placed herself under the dominion of Milan. He maintained the respect of the Italian, as well as foreign, powers; rendered himself generally acceptable to his people; and peaceably transmitted his dutchy to his posterity. In that age of treachery and perfidy, the means by which he had obtained his power left no stigma on his reputation; it was sufficient that his bad faith and dissimulation had been crowned with success.

1464.

Galeazzo-Maria Sforza. 1466-1476.

On the death of Francesco Sforza in 1466, he was succeeded by his eldest son Galeazzo-Maria, a compound of ambition, lust, and cruelty. Contrary to the wishes of her brother Amadeus IX. Duke of Savoy, he had espoused Bona,[38] daughter of Duke Lewis, and sister of Charlotte married to Louis XI. King of France. But the nuptial tie placed no restraint on his disorderly life; the dwellings of his subjects were perpetually invaded by his illicit passions; and the honour of many noble families was violated by his amours. His savage disposition made him no less odious; and he de-

[38] M. Daru by mistake makes her daughter of the Duke of Orleans; and gives the daughter of the Duke of Savoy to the second son of Francesco Sforza. tom. II. p. 579. n. 1.

lighted in aggravating the punishment of death by wanton and refined tortures. At length three young men of noble birth united in the design of destroying the tyrant. Carlo Visconte, Girolamo Olgiato, and Giovannandrea Lampugnano, had been educated under the same master, and imbibed, with the love of liberty, the dangerous lesson that the assassination of a tyrant confers immortal fame. Their patriotism, however, was not unmixed with personal motives, for all had been privately injured by the object of their vengeance. The bloody deed was acomplished on the festival of St. Stephen; Galeazzo fell beneath the daggers of the conspirators, as he entered the church of the Martyr between the ambassadors of Mantua and Ferrara. In the general confusion Olgiato effected his escape; but the other two were instantly put to death by the multitude. Nor did Olgiato long elude the pursuit of justice. His father, in horrour at his guilt, refused him admission within his doors; and after a short concealment in the house of a friend he was dragged to execution, and died exulting in his ill-gained immortality.[39]

Gian-Galeazzo-Maria Sforza. 1476-1494.

The conspirators had believed that Milan would approve their murderous act, and rejoice in her liberation. But an indolent submission possessed the minds of the people, and the vices of their oppressor appear to have been forgotten in the emotions produced by his miserable fate. The

[39] His last words were, "Mors acerba, Fama perpetua: stabit vetus memoria facti." Machiavelli, Ist. Fior. Lib. VII. ad finem.

CHAPTER XXX.

young son of the murdered duke was quietly acknowledged as his successor; and as Gian-Galeazzo-Maria had only attained his eighth year, his mother, Bona of Savoy, was recognised as regent during his minority. Aided by her minister and favourite, Cecco Simonetta, the dutchess soon found herself sufficiently strong to counteract the sinister machinations of her husband's brothers, who were anxious to wrest the government out of her hands. Sforzino, Duke of Bari, Lodovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor,[40] Ottaviano, and the Cardinal Ascanio, were compelled to quit Milan; the first being banished to his dutchy, the second to Pisa, and the cardinal to Perugia; whilst Ottaviano, in attempting his escape, was drowned in the river Adda.[41]

IV. Marquisate of Mantua.

IV. The noble family of Gonzaga successfully defended Mantua, amidst the various storms which agitated Lombardy. But their domestic history is blackened by treachery and parricide. Feltrino, son of Lodovico,[42] deprived his nephew Ugolino of Reggio, which he sold to Bernabò Visconte; Ugolino was murdered by his brothers Lodovico and Francesco; and Francesco himself afterwards fell by the hand of his partner in blood. His son Francesco, who married Agnes Visconte, put his wife to death upon a vague charge of adultery, and thus furnished an excuse for the hostility of her cousin

The Gonzaghi.

1362

1382.

[40] According to Guicciardini, from his dusky complexion, as well as the cunning which he evinced from his boyhood. (Lib. III. tom. II. p. 37. Florence edition, 1818.). Paulus Jovius derives the name from Il Moro, the mulberry tree, which Lodovico retained for his device.

[41] Muratori.

[42] Table XL.

Gian-Galeazzo, first Duke of Milan. Gian-Francesco, his son, was created MARQUIS of Mantua by the Emperor Sigismund; and his descendants were still *Dukes* of Mantua at the commencement of the eighteenth century.[43] CHAPTER XXX. 1433.

V. In the fifteenth century, the Italian house of Este arrived at the summit of its glory. In 1393 the death of the Marquis Alberto vested his estates in his son Nicolò III.[44] one of the most illustrious princes of that illustrious family. He remained throughout his reign the steady ally of the Church; was frequently instrumental in calming the dissensions of Italy; and governed Ferrara and Modena with wisdom and humanity. He added Reggio and Parma to his possessions; but ceded the latter to Filippo Visconte in 1420. In his private life, Nicolò sustained a severe shock by the incestuous loves and tragical deaths of his natural son Hugo and his consort Parisina Malatesta. In bequeathing his territories he preferred his spurious to his legitimate issue; and his natural sons Lionello and Borso successively reigned in Ferrara. Both these princes are conspicuous for their patronage of literature; and the university of Ferrara, restored by the first, was deeply indebted to the munificence of his brother.[45] From the Emperor Frederic III. Borso obtained the title of DUKE of Modena and Reggio; and from Paul II. that of Duke of Ferrara; an honour which he enjoyed only a few days.

V. The Dutchy of Ferrara.

Nicolò III. 1393-1441.

1425.

Lionello. 1441-1450.

Borso. 1450-1471.

Duke of Modena; 1452.

And of Ferrara. 1471.

[43] Art. de vérif. les Dates, tom. III. p. 666. [44] Table XLIII.

[45] Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital. tom. VI. pp. 26. 95. Firenze, 1805.

CHAPTER XXX.

He was universally beloved by his subjects; and the "times of the good duke Borso" grew into a proverb.[46] To him succeeded his half-brother Hercules, the legitimate son of Nicolò III., a prince destined to shine in the annals of Italy.

Ercole I. 1471-1505.

VI. Marquisate of Montferrat.

VI. It would be improper to close this list of Italian princes without a single word bestowed on the Marquisses of Montferrat.[47] A single word, however, may suffice. Since the tenth century the nobles of this house had acted no inconsiderable part in the early transactions of Italy. But during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries their power and influence rapidly decayed: their lustre was eclipsed by the stars of Milan and Venice; their race became degenerated; their territory was diminished; and in the next age they were swallowed up by the flourishing dynasty of Savoy.[48]

[46] Murat. Ann. 1471. [47] Table XXXV. [48] Table XXXVI.

CHAPTER XXXI.

REVIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY. THE REPUBLICS.

HAVING now enumerated the chief principalities of Italy, in which the destinies of thousands were in the hands of a single individual, with little to curb the will of the despot save the daggers of his oppressed subjects; it remains to speak of those Italian states, wherein the government was entrusted to several members; or where the ruler, instead of being an hereditary prince, was from time to time nominated by the people.

I. Genoa.

I. Of all the Republics, Genoa, in the fourteenth century, was accounted the most wealthy and powerful.[1] But after throwing off the yoke of Robert, King of Naples, the city was agitated by continual commotions, in which the Guelphs and Ghibellins were alternately expelled. The institution of an officer called the Abbot of the people, like that of the Roman tribunes, had been intended to repress the power of the nobles; and the attempt to dispense with this office was resisted by the commons, who chose for their Abbot Simone Boccanegra, a nobleman of the Ghibellin party, and a

[1] Giov. Villani, Lib. IX. c. 118.

CHAPTER XXXI.

zealous advocate for the popular cause. But his noble descent impelled him to decline an office which had hitherto only been held by one of the people; and the multitude overcame his scruples by changing the title of Abbot to that of Duke, or Doge, in imitation of the Venetians.[2] A select few of the popular leaders were nominated as his council; but the authority of Boccanegra appears to have been almost unlimited. He governed with firmness and discretion; and a conspiracy of the nobles was promptly and capitally punished.[3] His reign was, however, suspended in 1334:—the members of the noble families, Doria, Spinola, Fieschi, and Grimaldi re-assembled in the suburbs; and the Doge avoided a violent deposition by a secret retreat to Pisa. After some confusion, a nobleman, Giovanne da Murta, was proclaimed Doge; but as renewed disorder convulsed the city, the contending factions agreed to submit their differences to Lucchino Visconte, and the rapacious arbitrator was prevented by death alone from occupying the distracted state. After the death of Da Murta, a new Doge was set up; but disorder within and defeat without induced Genoa to throw herself under the protection of Giovanni Visconte.[4] On the death of that prelate she reassumed her independence; her original Doge was recalled, and continued to rule until 1363. But from the death of

A Doge chosen, 1339.

Genoa surrendered to Milan; 1353.

[2] Sismondi, tom. V. p. 283.

[3] Fece prendere e tagliare la testa a due degli Spinoli e più altri loro seguaci. Giov. Villani, Lib. XI. c. 102.

[4] Ante, vol. i. p. 513.

Boccanegra the state was torn by dissension for upwards of thirty years, and two rival families of the mercantile class, the Adorni, adherents of the Guelphs, and the Fregosi of the opposite party, alternately furnished Genoa with an ephemeral sovereign. In 1396 the reigning Doge, Antoniotto Adorno, by an act of miserable impolicy, surrendered the state to Charles VI. King of France; who deputed the government to a renowned captain, John le Maingre, Marshal of France, and Lord of Boucicault. The stern severity of this approved soldier was manifested on his entry into the city; and two of the most refractory citizens, Battista Bocanegra and Battista Luciardo, were, at his command, led out to execution. Boccanegra's head was severed from the body, and his companion was about to suffer, when a new commotion in the assembled crowd distracted the attention of the French guard. The criminal seized the propitious moment, and darting into the dense throng was lost among the multitude; but his place was instantly supplied by the officer whose neglect had permitted his escape; and whose head immediately rolled upon the ground at the mandate of the peremptory Boucicault. For eight years the Genoese were overawed by his rigorous government; but his absence favouring insurrection, the French lieutenant was assassinated; and the state was delivered from the yoke of France. But the spirit of independence was extinguished in Genoa, and she withdrew herself from the bondage of France to acknowledge Filippo, Duke of Milan, as her master. Revolt from Milan and re-instatement

And to France; 1396.

1401.

1409.

And again to Milan. 1435.

Revolt 1442.

CHAPTER XXXI.

of the Doge were immediately followed by his deposition; and a new form of government was introduced by creating Ancients and Captains of the people. After a few months duration this government was dissolved; and Rafaello Adorno was created Doge, and permitted to retain his power for nearly four years. A new struggle between the rival families once more convulsed the city; and whilst Alfonso, King of Naples, threatened Genoa with a most formidable invasion, a grievous pestilence raged among her citizens. In this complication of distress, the Doge, Pietro Fregoso, with the approbation of the principal citizens, craved the protection of Charles VII. King of France; and the city being by treaty surrendered to that monarch was occupied in his name by John of Anjou. The union of the families Adorni and Fregosi enabled the Genoese to expel the French; an Adorno was for a moment raised to the dutchy, and then expelled by the Fregosi; and a Fregoso had scarcely mounted the throne ere he was displaced by his kinsman, the Archbishop Paolo. The odious character of Paolo Fregoso threatened a speedy dissolution of his authority; and the keen-eyed Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, already regarded Genoa as his own. He obtained from Louis XI. of France the cession of his rights; he secured a strong party amongst the discontented citizens; and a general revolt in April 1461 enabled his friends to proclaim him Lord of the city.[5]

1443.

Again to France; 1458.

1461.

1463.

And again to Milan. 1464.

During the residue of the reign of Francesco and

[5] Murat. Annali.

that of his son Galeazzo Sforza, Genoa continued in repose; but the murder of the latter prince incited the family of Fieschi to attempt a revolt from Milan. The storm was, however, lulled by the presence of Lodovico and Ottaviano Sforza, the young Duke's uncles; and their creature Prospero Adorno was accepted by the people as their Doge under the authority of the Duke of Milan. A few months dispelled his authority; and Battistino Fregoso was proclaimed independent sovereign of Genoa.[6]

1476.

1477.

Revolt. 1478.

[6] Murat. Annali.—Without burthening the text with a barren enumeration of names, I here subjoin a list of these Doges, by which the insecurity of their dignity will sufficiently appear.

1339. Simone Boccanegra, abdicated 1344.
Giovanni da Murta, died 1350.
Giovanni de' Valenti.
1356. Boccanegra restored, died 1363.
Gabriello Adorno, deposed and imprisoned 1370.
Nicolò di Guarco, dep. 1383.
Leonardo di Montaldo, died 1384.
Antoniotto Adorno, dep. 1390.
Jacopo Campo Fregoso, dep. 1392.
Antoniotto restored and again dep. 1392.
Antoniotto di Montaldo, dep. 1394.
Nicolò Zoaglio, dep. 1394.
Antonio di Guarco, dep. 1394.
Antoniotto Adorno again restored, resigned 1396.
1413. Georgio Adorno, dep. 1415.
Bernabò Goano, dep. 1415.
Tommaso Fregoso, dep. 1442.
Rafaello Adorno, resigned 1447.
Bernabò Adorno, dep. 1447.
Giano Fregoso, died 1448.
Lodovico Fregoso, dep. 1450.
Piero Fregoso, dep. 1458.
1461. Prospero Adorno, dep. 1461.
Lodovico Fregoso, dep. 1463.
Paolo Fregoso, dep. 1464.

CHAPTER XXXI.

In the midst of these perpetual commotions, a new and singular association of private individuals took place in Genoa. It has been the lot of the present generation to witness the extraordinary phænomenon of a private corporation exercising the most extensive public functions, and governing with a sovereign power a mighty and increasing empire. In the fifteenth century, Genoa could produce an association, bearing no comparison, indeed, in extent to the modern corporation, but scarcely less surprising as a political problem. The Bank, or Company, of St. George had been instituted about 1402, when a long course of warfare had drained the public treasury. The contributions, therefore, of private citizens were called in requisition, in security for the repayment of which the customs were pawned by the Republic; whilst each lender participated in the receipts in proportion to the extent of his advances. The administration of their affairs required frequent meetings of the body of creditors; and the palace over the custom-house being assigned to them, they organized a particular form of government. A great council of one hundred was established for deliberation on their common weal; whilst the supreme management of their affairs was entrusted to a directory of eight. The good order of their little government ensured their prosperity; the increasing necessities of the Republic required new ad-

The Bank of St. George.

1478. Battista Fregoso, dep. 1483.
Paolo Fregoso, restored, dep. 1487.

vances; and the public lands were mortgaged to the Bank, until that body became possessed of nearly all the territory appertaining to the state of Genoa. To the regulation and defence of this extending territory the Company alone were attentive; and, without any interference on the part of the commonwealth, an annual election of their own officers furnished an adequate supply of governors and magistrates for the provinces. They wisely abstained from taking part in the unceasing changes in the government; and alike indifferent to the cry of Adorni or Fregosi, were only intent on preserving their own independence, and securing from the successful ruler the due recognition of their laws and privileges. The administration of this society formed a striking contrast to that of public affairs. Instead of tyranny, corruption, and licentiousness, the Bank of St. George presented a model of order, good faith, and justice; and the people obtained thereby an influence in the state, which more effectually preserved their liberty than all their violent attempts to depress the aristocracy.[7]

Notwithstanding the perpetual dissensions of Genoa, she long continued to maintain her naval renown; and whilst the plebeians were intent on the depression of the nobles, the family of Doria were conducting her fleets to the discomfiture of her enemies. Like her ancient rival Venice, she had long been acquainted with the Levant; and Galata

Naval exploits of Genoa.

[7] Machiavel. Lib. VIII. Opere, tom. I. p. 437. 4to. Firenze, 1782.—Montesquieu, Espr. des Lois, Liv. II. c. 3.

CHAPTER XXXI.

and Pera, the suburbs of Constantinople, were the reward of services rendered to the Greek Emperor. After the peace of 1299 the Venetians, though strengthened by the alliance of the Aragonese, abstained for a time from renewing the contest; and

1337. the first attack upon the gallies of Genoa was punished by defeat and disgrace.[8] A breach of faith on the part of Venice was resented by the seizure of all her traders in the Black Sea; but Genoa paid dearly for this aggression, and a signal

29th Aug. 1349. defeat by the Venetians off Caristo nearly annihilated her fleet. In 1351 a powerful armament sailed from Venice under the command of Nicolò Pisani, one of the most distinguished commanders of his

1352. age; and a fierce encounter in the Dardanelles covered the sea with the fragments of the hostile vessels. But severely as the Genoese suffered on this occasion, they might fairly claim the victory; since the destruction of the Venetian and Aragonese gallies was more than double the loss which they themselves sustained; and Pisani admitted the defeat by leaving his enemies in possession of the scene of action. Even the seat of Empire was threatened by the conquerors; and the Greek Emperor averted their vengeance by the expulsion of his former allies from the capital.[9] But the pride of Genoa soon afterwards sustained a severe check: her fleet, under Antonio Grimaldi, was surprised off Cagliari on the anniversary of the defeat at Caristo; and the loss of more than thirty ships and

[8] Giov. Villani, Lib. X. c. 172—XI. c. 69. [9] See Gibbon, vol. XI. p. 399.

four thousand five hundred prisoners reduced the republic to despair. This disaster, however, was amply compensated by a splendid victory in the following year, atchieved over Pisani by Andrea Doria and his nephew Giovanni; and to the bold and spirited manœuvre of the latter the success of the day was chiefly to be attributed. Whilst the Venetians lay within the harbour of Sapienza, a little island of the Morea, the younger Doria dashed into the port with twelve gallies, and placing his force between the shore and the enemy commenced a furious assault. Meanwhile the residue of the Genoese fleet attacked the gallies of Pisani in front; and most complete victory was obtained. The Venetians suffered an enormous loss of both vessels and men; and amongst the six thousand prisoners led in triumph to Genoa, was the renowned commander Nicolò Pisani.[10] 1354.

The Genoese thus triumphant swept the coast of Barbary, assaulted and plundered Tripoli, and sold the city to a wealthy Saracen for fifty thousand pieces of gold. A more important conquest was atchieved eighteen years afterwards. At the coronation of Pietro Lusignano, King of Cyprus, a dispute for precedence arose between the consuls of Genoa and Venice, which the Cypriote authorities decided in favour of the latter. Irritated by this award the Genoese attempted to assert their right by violence; and the Cypriotes resenting an affront offered in the royal presence flew to arms, 1355.

[10] Daru, tom. I. p. 626.

CHAPTER XXXI.

and immediately put the offenders to death. Not content with this summary vengeance, they set on foot a general massacre through the island; and a single Genoese was left alive to convey the heavy tidings to the Republic.[11] A new fleet was forthwith sent from Genoa, commanded by Pietro Fregoso; and the island of Cyprus offered little resistance to the invaders. Nor can they be accused of want of moderation; since only three lives were sacrificed to the manes of their slaughtered countrymen. The King was restored to liberty, and even permitted to retain his title; but a yearly tribute of forty thousand florins was exacted by the conquerors.

Conquest of Cyprus. 1373.

War with Venice. 1378.

A new offence soon kindled another war with Venice. So low had the Greek Empire fallen that the Genoese had taken upon themselves to dethrone the Emperor John Palæologos in favour of his son Andronicus; who promised them in return the island of Tenedos. But the deposed tyrant was supported by their ancient rival, who took advantage of the imperial schism to get possession of Tenedos; and Genoa, strengthened by the alliance of Lewis, King of Hungary, Francesco Carrara, Lord of Padua, and the Patriarch of Aquileia, declared war against the Venetians. The fleet of Genoa was commanded by Luciano Doria; that of Venice by Vittore Pisani. Fortune, from the commencement favoured the Genoese; and in the month of May 1379 a great and sanguinary battle off Chiozza was attended by

[11] Sismondi, tom. VII. p. 188.

a brilliant victory. The death of their admiral Doria, who fell in the first onset, inspired them with vindictive fury; and fifteen Venetian gallies and upwards of a thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the conquerors. Many of these were inhumanly butchered by the Genoese in revenge for the fall of Doria; whilst the defeated Pisani, returning to the capital, was plunged into a dungeon by the implacable government of Venice.

A re-inforcement under Pietro Doria now enabled the Genoese to follow up their victory, and the island and city of Chiozza were captured with immense loss to the Venetians. The utmost consternation prevailed throughout Venice; and the most humiliating terms of peace were proposed by the disheartened Senate. But the haughty Doria rejected all terms of accommodation. "Never, by the faith of God!" he exclaimed, "never, my lords of Venice, shall ye have peace till we have bridled those brazen horses of St. Mark's;—when they are bitted, ye may dare to talk of peace."

Nothing can more strongly mark the consternation of the Venetian government than their yielding on this trying occasion to the outcries of the populace. In obedience to their urgent call Pisani was delivered from his dungeon and once more placed in command of the armament. Despair prompted the most vigorous preparations for defence; great rewards were promised to all whose exertions should be most conspicuous; and nobility was to be the reward of the thirty citizens who should pre-emi-

CHAPTER XXXI.

nently distinguish themselves in preserving the state. The great aim of Pisani was now to blockade the Genoese fleet, which had taken up its station within the port of Chiozza. This daring enterprise was atchieved with incredible labour, and severe loss on the part of the Venetians. By sinking vessels laden with stones at the mouths of the several channels which led into the Lagune, he rendered all egress impossible; and in this helpless state the Genoese were exposed to the miseries of siege and famine, and finally compelled to surrender at discretion. About four thousand prisoners were carried into Venice; and the aged Doge took triumphant possession of Chiozza.[12] In this memorable struggle the efforts of the Venetians were greatly assisted by those terrible engines of war, now for the first time used in the naval battle of Italy; and one of the *bombards* of Pisani was capable of launching forth a marble bullet of two hundred pounds.[13]

Blockade of the Genoese fleet.

1380.

Nothing dismayed by this reverse, Genoa and her allies continued to harass Venice. A new fleet

[12] Daru, tom. II. p. 149.—Sismondi, tom. VII. p. 222.

[13] Daru, p. 133. who calculates that these monsters could only be discharged once a day. Guicciardini (Lib. I. p. 89.) speaks of cannon having been introduced from Germany by the Venetians.—Thus Ariosto,

"La machina infernal—
Prima portata fu tra gli Alamanni."
Orl. Fur. c. XI. s. 23.

But the poet, by a daring anachronism, introduces fire-arms in the time of Charlemagne. Ariosto's indignation at this "scelerata e brutta invenzion" forms a striking contrast to Milton's admiration of the inventor;

"At mihi major erit, qui lurida creditur arma
Et trifidum fulmen surripuisse Jovi."
Poema, in inventorem bombardæ.

See Dr. Grey's note to v. 355. part I. canto II. of Hudibras.

ranged the Adriatic, and seized the city of Capo d' Istria. Pola was captured and consigned to the flames; and Trieste surrendered to Aquileia. Treviso, the most valuable of the Venetian possessions on Terra firma, was vigorously besieged by Francesco Carrara, who was supported by Charles of Durazzo with an Hungarian force. The miseries of the inhabitants were for a time mitigated by the treachery of Charles, who received a bribe to permit the entrance of supplies. But the continued blockade by Carrara again reduced the city to extreme misery; and the Venetians, anxious to deprive him of the prize, presented Treviso to Leopold II. Duke of Austria.[14]

Peace of Turin. 1381.

The blessings of peace were now at hand. By the mediation of Amadeus VI. Count of Savoy, the conflicting parties ceased from their warfare; and a treaty between Venice and the confederates was ratified at Turin on the 8th of August 1381. But from this period the maritime glory of Genoa was evidently on the wane; and the state felt the disastrous effects of the perpetual dissensions at home. In the next century a severe blow was struck upon the commerce of the Republic by the taking of Constantinople, and the consequent occupation of Pera and Galata by the Turks; and the Genoese government, sensible of its own imbecility, surrendered the remaining territories in the East to the management of the Bank of St. George. To that well-directed association the island of Corsica was at

1453.

[14] Daru, tom. II. p. 172.

CHAPTER XXXI.

the same time transferred, in order to protect it from Alfonso, King of Naples, then the bitter enemy of Genoa.[15]

II. Venice.

II. Whilst Genoa was thus rapidly declining and becoming the vassal of France or of Milan, Venice was preparing to enter upon new and extensive conquests on the mainland of Italy. Prior to the peace of Turin, she had in vain attempted a permanent footing in Lombardy, and had been stripped of all the territory she had acquired during the fourteenth century.[16] Yet so well had her resources been husbanded, that, whilst her rival exhausted by her efforts was tottering to her fall, the mistress of the Adriatic was prepared to extend her conquests, and rise to the foremost rank amidst the states of Europe. Her anxiety once more to display her banners upon Terra firma induced her to lend her aid to Gian-Galeazzo Visconte against the Carrara, under the promise of the restitution of Treviso, so unexpectedly transferred to her dangerous neighbour.[17] The bad faith of the Lord of Milan would fain have defrauded the Venetians of their share of the spoil, had not dread of their power compelled their ally to be reluctantly honest in his spoliation. By their friendly demonstrations toward Caterina, the widowed Dutchess of Milan, the Venetians next obtained the cession of Vicenza, Feltre,

Treviso regained. 1389.

Vicenza, Feltre, and Belluno acquired. 1404.

[15] Sismondi, tom. X. p. 70.

[16] Her first possession on the terra firma of Italy was Cervia; and in 1338 she acquired Treviso and Belluno. Daru, tom. I. pp. 456. 586.

[17] Leopold, Duke of Austria, sold the March of Treviso to Francesco Carrara in 1382 for 80,000 ducats. Daru, tom. II. p. 171.

and Belluno; and Francesco Novello Carrara, who already counted Vicenza as his prey, was ever baffled in his hopes. His son-in-law, the Marquis of Ferrara[18] was compelled to declare against him; and the citizens of Verona, worn out by siege and famine, opened their gates to the troops of Venice. This important acquisition was followed up by a succession of easy victories; the greatest part of the Paduan territory submitted without a struggle; and the capital itself, wasted by hunger and the plague, proomised a speedy surrender. A last desperate sortie was repulsed with terrible slaughter; and treachery opened the gates and admitted the forces of Venice. Carrara and his son Francesco Terzo had now no hope save in the clemency of the conquerors. They proceeded to Venice, were received with apparent cordiality, and immured in a dungeon. In this horrible vault they had the miserable satisfaction of embracing a son and brother, Jacopo Carrara. After lingering nearly two months in this region of despair, the father was privately strangled in prison; and on the following day his two sons perished in a similar manner. Two brothers of this illustrious family still survived: of these, Ubertino terminated his life by sickness soon after the ruin of his house; and Marsilio expiated a rash attempt to regain Padua by a public execution in 1435. Thus by the destruction of the once

Verona. 1405.

[18] Francesco Novello married in 1377 Taddea, daughter of Nicolò II. Marquis of Este;—and in 1379 Nicolò III. married Gigliola, daughter of Francesco Novello.

CHAPTER XXXI.

potent families of Scala and Carrara, the tyrant of the Adriatic was predominant in Lombardy, and invested with a splendid territory, including Padua, Verona, and Vicenza.[19] Fifteen years afterwards, Friuli was wrested from the patriarch of Aquileia. By their successes over Filippo, Duke of Milan, the Venetians became masters of Brescia and Bergamo; and by the ruin and exile of the last of the noble family of Polenta, they grasped the state of Ravenna.

End of the Carrara. 1405.

Friuli acquired. 1420.

Brescia. 1426.

Bergamo. 1428.

Ravenna. 1441.

Eastern possessions.

In addition to these possessions in Italy, Venice continued to enjoy extensive territories in the East. Besides Dalmatia,[20] and Durazzo, with other places in Albania, she was mistress of the chief cities in the Morea, and many of the Ionian islands.[21] But the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the captivity of the Venetians settled in Pera, threatened her power in the East; and she felt no repugnance to enter into a treaty with the enemies of her religion. After a year's negotiation, terms were concluded between the Sultan and Venice; by which her possessions were secured to her, and her trade guaranteed throughout the empire.[22] In

[19] It was about this period that the Squares of Rialto and St. Mark's were paved, the Campanile of St Mark rebuilt, and the south side of the ducal palace finished. Daru, tom. II. p. 241.

[20] Zara revolted from Venice no less than eight times. It was first taken in 998, but revolted in 1040 to the *King* of Croatia. In 1115 it revolted to the King of Hungary. In 1170 it declared its independence. In 1186 it again fell to the King of Hungary; and in 1242, 1310, 1345, and 1357, the Venetians were expelled. At length, Ladislaus, King of Naples, sold it to the Republic for 100,000 florins. Daru, tom. II. p. 251.

[21] Ante, Chap. XVIII.

[22] Venice, on this occasion, endeavoured to possess herself of Christ's

virtue of this treaty, she continued to occupy Modon, Coron, Napoli di Romania, Argos, and other cities on the borders of the Peninsula, together with Eubœa (Negropont), and some of the smaller islands. But this good understanding was interrupted in 1463, when the Turks contrived an excuse for attacking the Venetian territory. Under pretence of resenting the asylum afforded to a Turkish refugee, the Pasha[23] of the Morea besieged and captured Argos; and the Republic felt itself compelled immediately to resent the aggression.[24]

Treaty with Mahomed II. 1454.

War with the Turk. 1463.

A re-inforcement was sent from Venice to Napoli, and Argos was quickly recaptured. Corinth was next besieged, and the project of fortifying the isthmus was once more renewed. The promontory which unites the Peloponnesus to the continent measures scarcely six miles across between the Gulfs of Ægina and Lepanto. In the early ages of Greece the narrowness of this pass had suggested the possibility and expediency of fortifying it by a rampart;[25] under the Emperor Justinian, the ancient fortifications were renewed;[26] and in 1413

coat without seam, for which she offered 10,000 ducats. The Turk, however, declined parting with it for so small a price. Daru, tom. II. p. 514.

[23] There were four grades of Turkish commanders;—1. a Beglerbeg; 2. a Pacha; 3. a Beg; and 4. a Sanjak. Before Pachas and Beglerbegs were instituted, all governors of Turkish provinces were called Sanjaks; which name afterwards denoted those who were set over provinces, without the distinction of *Tug*, or horses' tails.—Prince Cantemir's Hist. of the Othman Empire, by Tindal, Book III c. II. p. 116. note (1). London, 1756.

[24] Daru, tom. II. p. 564.

[25] Herodotus, Urania, c. 40.—Attempts had anciently been made to cut through the isthmus. See Pausanias, Lib. II. c. 1.

[26] Gibbon, vol. VII. p. 128.

CHAPTER XXXI.

a strong wall, named *Hexamilion* from its length, was erected by the Emperor Manuel.[27] Upon the present occasion, the labour of thirty thousand workmen accomplished the work in fifteen days: a stone wall of more than twelve feet high, defended by a ditch and flanked by a hundred and thirty-six towers, was drawn across the isthmus; in the midst the standard of St. Mark was displayed; and the performance of the holy service completed the new fortification. But the approach of the Turks, whose numbers were probably exaggerated by report, threw the Venetians into distrust and consternation; and unwilling to confide in the strength of their rampart they abandoned the siege of Corinth, and retreated to Napoli, from which the infidels were repulsed with the loss of five thousand men.

The Peloponnesus was now exposed to the predatory retaliations of the Turks and Venetians; and the Christians appeared anxious to rival, or surpass, the Mahomedans in the refinement of their barbarous inflictions. The names of Sparta and Athens may create a momentary interest; the former, denoted by the modern town of Misitra erected near its ruins; the latter, the poor remains of the ancient city, but still one of the richest and most populous of the Greek possessions. In the year 1465 Sigismondo Malatesta landed in the Morea, with a re-inforcement of a thousand men; and, without effecting the reduction of the citadel,

[27] Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 90.

captured and burned Misitra. In the following year, Vittore Cappello, with the Venetian fleet, arrived in the straits of Euripus; and landing at Aulis marched into Attica. After making himself master of the Piræus, he laid siege to Athens; her walls were overthrown; her inhabitants plundered; and the Venetians retreated with the spoil to the opposite shores of Eubœa.[28]

The Venetians take Athens. 1466.

The victorious career of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, for a time diverted the Sultan from the war in the Morea; but when Matthias was induced to change his antagonists, and, instead of warring against the Turks, to turn upon his Christian brethren of Bohemia, Mahomed II. solemnly bound himself by oath to abolish the *idolatrous* religion of Christ, and invited the disciples of the Prophet to join him in his pious design. In the beginning of the year 1470 a fleet of an hundred and eight gallies, besides a number of smaller vessels, manned by a force seventy thousand strong, issued from the harbour of Constantinople, and sailed for the straits of Euripus. Never since the days of Xerxes had those seas been cumbered by so vast a multitude; and in the same place, whither the great King had once despatched his countless fleet, the vessels of the Sultan were anchored. The army landed without molestation on the island, which they united to the mainland by a bridge of boats, and immediately proceeded to lay siege to the city of Negropont. Mahomed caused his tent

Mahomed II. invades Greece. 1470.

[28] Sismondi, tom. X. p. 235.

CHAPTER XXXI.

to be pitched on a promontory of the Attic coast, and thence surveyed the operations of his soldiery.[29]

The hopes of the besieged were now centred in the Venetian fleet, which, under the command of Nicolò Canale, lay at anchor in the Saronic Gulf. But that admiral, whilst he awaited a re-inforcement, let slip the favourable opportunity of preventing the debarcation of the enemy, or of shutting up the Turks in the island by the destruction of their half-deserted fleet and bridge of boats. By an unaccountable inactivity, he suffered the city to be attacked, which, after a vigorous resistance of nearly a month, was carried by assault; and all the inhabitants, who did not escape into the citadel, were put to the sword. At length that fortress was also taken; and the barbarous conqueror, who had promised to respect the head of the intrepid governor, deemed it no violation of his word to saw his victim in halves. After this decisive blow, which reduced the whole island, Mahomed led back his conquering army to Constantinople.[30] The Venetian admiral was forthwith superseded by a new commander, and sent loaded with irons to Venice; where his countrymen, by an unaccustomed exercise of moderation, were content to spare his life, and punished his delinquency by perpetual exile.

Negropont taken. 12th July.

This success encouraged the Turks to attack the

[29] Daru, tom. II. p. 587.

[30] Daru, ub. sup.—Sismondi, tom. X. pp. 349-356.—Cantemir, Part I. Book III. c. I.

Venetians in their Italian territory; and the Pasha of Bosnia invaded Istria and Friuli, and carried fire and sword almost to the gates of Udine. In the following year, however, the Turks were baffled in their attempt to reduce Scutari in Albania, which had been delivered by the gallant Scanderbeg[31] to the guardian care of Venice. Some abortive negotiations for peace suspended hostilities until 1477, when the troops of Mahomed laid siege to Croia in Albania, which they reduced to the severest distress. But a new incursion into Friuli struck a panic into the inhabitants of Venice, who beheld, from the tops of their churches and towers, the raging flames which devoured the neighbouring villages. A hasty muster of all their available forces was made to defend the capital; but the Turks, distrustful of their strength, or satiated with plunder, once more withdrew into Albania. The siege of Croia was soon after terminated by its surrender and the massacre of its inhabitants; and the Sultan, in person, undertook the reduction of the stubborn city of Scutari.

The Turks ravage Friuli. 1473.

Capture of Croia. 1478.

But not even the presence of the Sultan could accomplish the capture of that redoubted garrison. In vain did the janizaries scale the walls: in vain did the Turkish artillery thunder against the shivered barriers; whilst new assailants replaced those who fell overwhelmed by the javelins and stones launched on them by the besieged. For two days and a night the grand assault was kept up without intermis-

Successful resistance of Scutari.

[31] See Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 168.

CHAPTER XXXI.

sion, until weary of the useless sacrifice of his men, Mahomed resolved to convert the siege into a blockade.[32] The surrounding country was harassed by the ravages of the Turks; but a new attempt upon Friuli was successfully resisted; and the infidels were compelled to confine their incursions to the frontiers of Germany.

These repeated aggressions on her territories made Venice every day more anxious to conclude a peace with the Sultan; and a fresh negotiation was opened, wherein the Republic submitted to conditions she had, on a former occasion, rejected. It was agreed that the islands of Negropont and Mitylene, with the cities of Croia and Scutari in Albania, and of Tenaro in the Morea, should be consigned to the Turk; whilst other conquests were to be reciprocally restored to their former owners. A tribute of ten thousand ducats was imposed upon Venice, and the inhabitants of Scutari were to be permitted to evacuate the city without molestation.

Peace 25th April. 1479.

Upon this footing a peace was concluded, which delivered Venice from a ruinous war of fifteen years. The poor remnant of the defenders of Scutari, now reduced to five hundred men and one hundred and fifty women, were suffered to depart from their homes; and being conducted to Venice were munificently provided for at the expense of the Republic.[33]

[32] Knolles's History of the Turks, pp. 283–290.

[33] Laugier, Hist. de Venise, Liv. XXVII. tom. VII. Paris, 1765.—Daru, tom. II. p. 600.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Government of Venice.

The government of Venice had now assumed that perfection of oligarchical despotism which subsisted, with very little variation, from the year 1454 until the inglorious dissolution of the Republic in 1797. The sovereign authority was vested in the Great Council; the government in the Senate; the administration in the Signory; the judicial authority in the Quaranta; and the police in the Council of Ten.[34] To these august assemblies the nobles were alone admissible; so that every member of the subordinate councils had a seat in the Great Council.

I. The Doge.

I. The Doge was, in name at least, the head of the government, and as such presided over every council. The external marks of respect were conceded to his station, and the splendour of the ducal trappings was well contrived to dazzle the multitude. But from an absolute sovereign the Duke of Venice had gradually dwindled down to a powerless pageant; and the aristocracy seem to have delighted in shackling their prince with irksome, though generally wise, restrictions. No person if chosen was permitted to decline the dignity; and the dignity when once accepted could never be resigned unless by the consent of the Great Council. On the other hand, the Doge was liable to deposition; and the history of the unfortunate Foscari evinces the rigorous treatment to which the sovereign was open. The Doge was forbidden to quit the limits of Venice without special permission;—to possess property out of the city;—to exercise commerce; or to

[34] Daru, tom. VI. p. 77.

CHAPTER XXXI.

receive any gratuity from a foreign prince. His revenue was limited to twelve thousand ducats, and his expenditure was matter of the severest scrutiny. In his public capacity he could make neither war nor peace; he could open no dispatches save in the presence of the Signory; nor could he return an answer to a foreign potentate without their approbation. His wife and family were also precluded from accepting presents. His brothers, his sons, and even his servants, were ineligible to public office; and his children were prohibited from contracting foreign marriages. After his death, his heirs were liable to be visited for the errors of his reign; and compellable to make good any malversation reported by the Censors appointed to inquire into his administration.[35]

II. The Great Council.

II. The Great Council included all the nobles who had attained the age of twenty-five. We have already seen the artifices by which this noble body shut the door of the assembly against all whose names were not registered in the Golden Book. But during the famous war of Chiozza the door was again unbarred; and faithful to her promise Venice admitted into her nobility those thirty citizens who were adjudged to have exerted themselves most strenuously in defence of their country.[36] In

[35] Amelot de la Houssaie, tom. I. pp. 161-174.—Daru, tom. II. pp. 42. 210 tom. III. p. 84. tom. VI. pp. 134. 138. 265.

[36] The list of these, and their particular services, may be read in Laugier, tom. V. p. 34. note. Eight are denominated generally *Artisans*, "to avoid (says La Houssaie, p. 784) naming carpenters, bakers, butchers, and fishmongers." In *his* list, however, one fishmonger makes his appearance.

this illustrious assembly the real sovereignty of Venice existed; from the Great Council emanated the Senate and other councils; and it absorbed all other assemblies, since only its own members were eligible to the important departments of government. Its peculiar office was to make or repeal laws; to ballot for magistrates; and to approve of, or annul, the taxes proposed by the Senate. The residue of the sovereign functions it was content to leave to the Senate; and as the senators were themselves members of the Council no great risk was incurred of any violent collision.

The chief restrictions imposed upon the nobles related to their intercourse with foreign powers. They were forbidden to acquire foreign property; to accept foreign presents; to hold communication with any foreign ambassador. All intermarriages of themselves and their children with foreigners were prohibited; but as too strict an adherence to this prohibition might have deprived the state of advantageous alliances, an ingenious evasion was contrived: and when the daughter of a Venetian noble was sought by a foreign potentate, the state adopted her as its own, and gave her in marriage as the daughter of St. Mark.[37] Attempts were made from

[37] A notable instance of such an adoption, which proved highly advantageous to the Republic, occurred in the fifteenth century. Giacopo Lusignano, King of Cyprus, received as his bride Caterina, of the noble house of Cornaro, but for that occasion adopted and endowed as the daughter of St. Mark. In the course of time the Queen of Cyprus became a childless widow; and at length yielded to unremitted importunity, and surrendered the island to Venice.

CHAPTER XXXI.

time to time to prohibit the nobles from trading; but the impolicy of such a restriction in a commercial state was too strongly felt to render the interdiction available.[38]

III. The Senate.

III. The Senate, which originally consisted of sixty members, elected annually by the Great Council from their own body, was afterwards increased by the addition of sixty extraordinary members: and the admission of various public functionaries, in virtue of their office, at length swelled this body to three hundred. To the Senate the immediate functions of government were entrusted; and they deliberated and decided upon many important points without any reference to the Great Council. They made war or peace; entered into treaties; appointed ambassadors and commanders; coined money; raised loans; and regulated the distribution of the finances. But they had no authority to make laws or impose taxes, unless these were afterwards approved and confirmed by the Great Council.[39]

IV. The College.

IV. The executive power was vested in the Signory; which consisted of the Doge and the six red counsellors nominated by the Great Council, one for every quarter of the city. To these were associated the three chiefs of the criminal Quarantìa, and sixteen Sages; and this assembly of twenty-six was styled *The College*. They gave audiences to ambassadors of foreign princes; received memorials and manifestos; and opened all public dispatches,

[38] La Houssaie, tom. I. pp. 8-19.—Daru, tom. VI. pp. 97. 115.

[39] La Houssaie, p. 46.—Daru, p. 123.

which they were bound to transmit for the perusal of the Senate. To them also belonged the convoking of the Senate; and by them the resolutions of the Senate were to be effectuated.[40]

V. The Quarantìe.

V. The supreme judicial authority was lodged in a criminal tribunal of forty judges, and two civil tribunals, each also consisting of forty. These judges were all nominated from among the patricians by the Great Council; those of the criminal Quarantìa were *ex-officio* members of the Senate; and as the judges of the civil courts passed on to the criminal, all became senators in rotation. These tribunals formed courts of appeal from others of inferior jurisdiction; and administered justice according to the civil law, modified by statutes and local customs. Their proceedings were encumbered by formalities, and were consequently tardy; but their decisions (which were given by ballot) are admitted to have evinced sagacity and integrity. In criminal matters, indeed, the friends of the accused were permitted to use private influence with the judges; but such culpable attempts at the perversion of justice were strictly forbidden in civil proceedings.[41]

VI. The Council of Ten.

VI. The terrible Council of Ten had already overawed Venice for more than a century, when a new engine of tyranny was introduced still more terrific. The Council of Ten being deemed too numerous a body for securing the desired prompt-

[40] La Houssaie, p. 40.—Daru, p. 126.

[41] La Houssaie, p. 227.—Daru, p. 146.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ness and mystery of their proceedings, it was resolved by the Great Council in 1454 to erect another tribunal, consisting of three members with the most unlimited authority over the lives and liberty of the community. The Council of Ten were empowered to nominate two of their black counsellors, and one member of the Doge's Council; and were directed to prepare a body of statutes for the guidance of this new "Inquisition of State." Three days after the passing of this decree the Council were ready with these statutes; but the elaborate minuteness of their provisions clearly proves that much time and deliberation had been previously expended upon them. That this frightful tribunal existed too soon became manifest; yet such was the mystery which enveloped its origin that no one presumed to fix the time of its establishment, until the modern historian of Venice in his laborious researches discovered a copy of this diabolical code.[42] Such a tissue of refined cruelty and perfidy was surely never before given to the world; and the framers of the "Statutes of the Inquisition" appear to have been gifted with a subtle and relentless spirit of wickedness which might challenge the malignity of assembled fiends. An attentive perusal of this manual of assassination can alone give an adequate notion of the precision and acuteness with which the depositaries of this unbounded power

VII. The Inquisition of State.

June 19. 1454.

[42] Daru, tom. II. p. 541.—This, however, is said to be "a fabrication of some anonymous enemy of the Republic." See Foreign Quarterly Review, No. XXXII. p. 267.—The "anonymous enemy" has marvellously caught the spirit of the Republic's policy as developed in her annals.

are enjoined to draw the unwary into their snares; or of the cold-blooded and uncompromising villainy recommended for the preservation of Venetian policy. Subject to these instructions, the three Inquisitors were abandoned to their own discretion in selecting the time and place of seizure and investigation, the tortures to be employed, and the manner of destroying their victims. The nobles and citizens might thus be publicly exposed on a gibbet, or silently consigned to the adjacent canal. Innumerable spies pervaded the city; the recesses of domestic privacy and the inmost apartments of the ducal palace were alike laid open to the penetrating gaze of the Inquisition. Such was the mystery which surrounded the Inquisitors that it was never known, except by the Council, to which of their members this terrible office was entrusted; and an unguarded whisper in an Inquisitor's presence might in a moment be followed by incarceration and death. A system, if possible more monstrous, was also encouraged at Venice. A number of iron mouths in different parts of the city gaped for accusations; and an anonymous charge deposited by a secret enemy was sufficient to drag the unconscious accused before his judges. No human being could enjoy security for an instant; the daggers and the poison of the Inquisition were always at hand; and the innocent might suddenly be torn from the midst of his friends and consigned to the burning heat of the leaden roofs, or for ever immured in the *wells*,

CHAPTER XXXI.

those dismal dungeons sunk lower than the surface of the canals.[43]

Amidst these institutions, where the functions of the state were exclusively vested in the nobles, and the legislative, executive, and judicial, powers united in one body, we may be at a loss to discover what security existed for the welfare of the subordinate classes. The three Avogadors, one of whom was necessarily a member of the Great Council and Senate, might, indeed, call upon the legislature to pause when any measure was proposed injurious to the public ;[44] but in this anxiety for the general good no safety was to be found for private life or liberty ; and we have no means of ascertaining the quantity of individual misery inflicted by this odious government. But amidst the distraction of shews and pageants, the people might at least console themselves with the impartiality of their despotic rulers ; since the nobles, and even the Doge himself, were liable to feel the rigour of this unsparing oligarchy. The annals of Venice present many glaring instances of her noblest sons perishing under the malice of an enemy, or sacrificed to the detestable policy of the state ; and every page of her history is deformed by examples of perfidy and injustice. Without adverting to these, I shall here briefly repeat the characteristic story of Foscari ; and it is

[43] Daru, tom. VI. p. 169.—The reader will find the statutes of the inquisition inserted at the end of that volume taken from the Royal Library of Paris.

[44] La Houssaie, p. 230.

remarkable that the Inquisition of State originated at the close of this Doge's reign.

Foscari, Doge of Venice; 1423-1457.

On the death of Tommaso Mocenigo in 1423, Francesco Foscari was raised to the ducal throne. A vigorous understanding, a bold and enterprising spirit, were the conspicuous qualities of the new Doge; and during his long and warlike reign Venice attained a pitch of glory and power she had never before enjoyed. But whilst Foscari was thus increasing the prosperity of his country he was struggling with severe domestic affliction. Three of his sons were successively swept away to the grave; and the survivor was reserved but to augment the misery of his afflicted father. Jacopo, the youngest Foscari, was secretly accused before the Council of Ten of having received from Filippo, Duke of Milan, presents of money and jewels, and immediately summoned to answer the accusation. The unhappy Francesco, who presided as Doge, beheld his only son stretched upon the rack, heard his confession of guilt, and acquiesced in the sentence of perpetual banishment to Napoli di Romania. This sentence was, however, in some degree mitigated; and Trieste was fixed on as the place of his exile, whither he was allowed the consolation of being accompanied by his young wife. After residing there above five years a new calamity awaited him. On the 5th of November 1450 Almoro Donato, one of the chiefs of the council, was assassinated; and the circumstance of a servant of Jacopo's having been seen in Venice on that day was deemed suffi-

CHAPTER XXXI.

cient to fasten suspicion on his master. The severities of the rack having extorted nothing from the servant, Jacopo was conducted to Venice; and in his father's presence once more put to the torture. Far from admitting his participation in the murder, the unfortunate culprit vehemently asserted his innocence; but his protestations availed him nothing; and the inexorable council pronounced a sentence of perpetual banishment to the island of Candia.

The Doge Francesco had already on two occasions expressed his desire of abdicating his dignity;[45] but on each occasion the Great Council refused to permit his resignation. The cruel persecution of his son now redoubled his anxiety to descend from that eminence which exposed him more conspicuously to the malice of his enemies. But the Council not only reiterated their refusal, but compelled him to bind himself by oath to retain the dutchy until relieved by death.

During a five years' residence at Canea in Candia, Jacopo Foscari had exerted every means in his power to obtain the reversal of his unmerited sentence. Wearied of the hopeless attempt to soften his obdurate countrymen, he at length addressed a letter to Sforza, Duke of Milan, entreating him to use his influence with the Venetian Senate. To solicit foreign protection was an offence at Venice; and the letter, by design or accident, being intercepted, Jacopo was conveyed from Canea, and for the third time put to the rack before the Council of

[45] In 1433 and 1442.

Ten. He immediately admitted the offensive letter; and rejoiced in the step he had taken, which once more restored him to his beloved country, and to the presence of his wife, his father, and all that was dearest to him upon earth. This touching avowal weighed little with the heartless tribunal: and he was sentenced to be imprisoned in a dungeon for a year, and then again carried back into Candia. After the expiration of his imprisonment, he was sent into exile and soon afterwards died. Meanwhile his innocence of the imputed murder was completely established: the real assassin of Donato confessed on his death-bed that his, not Jacopo's, was the guilty hand.[46]

The wretched father now sank under this accumulation of misery: he fled from public business; abstained from attendance in the councils; and at the age of eighty-four buried himself in retirement so suitable to his years and misfortunes. But the malice of his enemies was still unsatiated; it was resolved that he should be precipitated from a throne he had already thrice attempted to vacate. By an enormous stretch of power, the Council of Ten intimated to the Doge in the name of the Great Council, that the state called for his resignation and absolved him from his oath. They condescended to offer him a pension of fifteen hundred

[46] M. Sismondi enhances the cruelty of the council by placing this confession prior to the second banishment of Jacopo. (Tom. X. p. 39.) The Abbé Laugier places it after the death of the Doge, and laments that the father did not live to be satisfied of his son's innocence.—Tom. VII. p. 120. Paris, 1759.

CHAPTER XXXI.

His deposition; 1457.

ducats, and peremptorily insisted on his quitting the ducal palace within eight days under pain of confiscation of his property. After a momentary struggle with his pride the old man bowed to the decree, and descended the Giants' staircase, which thirty-four years before he had mounted as the sovereign of Venice. The assembled populace beheld with pity and indignation the aged father of the Republic pass slowly towards his private dwelling; but the murmurs of compassion were in a moment silenced by a menacing proclamation of the Ten. The electors proceeded to the choice of a new Doge, and on the 30th of October 1457, seven days after the deposition of Foscari, Pasquale Malipiero was declared duly elected. The tolling of the bell of St. Mark's tower, which announced the election, awakened in the soul of Foscari a conflict of passions too furious for exhausted nature; and he survived the shock only a few hours. Notwithstanding the resistance of his widow, the council, who had thus hurried him to his grave, resolved upon the mockery of a magnificent funeral; and he was interred with all the splendour usual at a Doge's obsequies, the newly-elected Duke assisting in the habit of a senator.

And death.

One of the chief instruments of the ruin of Foscari was Giacomo Loredano, a noble, whose long-cherished rancour was thus formally entered on his commercial accounts; "Francesco Foscari, for the death of my father and uncle." But the debt was now liquidated, and on the opposite page the

cold-blooded Loredano wrote the discharge,— "he has paid it." [47] CHAPTER XXXI.

III. In Tuscany, Florence stood pre-eminent among the republics. The depression of her ancient nobility had made way for a new aristocracy, the most wealthy and influential of the popular party. After the expulsion of the Duke of Athens, Florence enjoyed a comparative tranquillity, until the dissensions of two families of the popular nobility again convulsed the city. The Ricci were strenuous Guelphs; the Aretine extraction of the Albizzi threw upon them the suspicion of Ghibellinism. With a view of depriving the rival faction of all power in the state, Uguccione de' Ricci procured the revival of an old law, which excluded all Ghibellins from office. Piero degl' Albizzi, the head of that family, evaded this blow by a warm concurrence in the measure, and even distinguished himself by the zeal with which he assisted in persecuting the Ghibellins. At his suggestion the Signory were authorized to *admonish* the obnoxious party against accepting any state employment; and if, after this admonition, any Ghibellin ventured to take office, he became liable to a severe penalty. This measure produced an insufferable tyranny: nothing was more easy than to fix the stigma of Ghibellinism upon a public or private enemy; and

III. Florence.

Dissensions of Ricci and Albizzi. 1353.

The Ammoniti. 1357.

[47] Daru, tom. II. p. 529.—During the reign of Foscari the revenues of Venice underwent a sensible diminution, although she had acquired four territories by the success of her arms. At the moment she undertook her war with the Turk, her clear annual income did not exceed the sum of a million ducats. ibid. p. 581.

CHAPTER XXXI.

thus the most valuable citizens might be excluded from office.[48] Some ineffectual attempts were made to restrain the arbitrary power of the Signors; and a conspiracy was organized by Bartolomeo de' Medici and a party of the Ammoniti, which exploded

1360. ere it was ripe for execution.[49]. The Guelph government, therefore, retained its power; although the odious law of *Admonition* was gradually undermining its popularity.

The tide, however, turned strongly against the Guelphs on the general defection from the Church in 1375. The Florentine government, the professed adherent of the holy see, found itself hurried into a war with the Pope in direct violation of its principles; and the city became the object of the severest papal imprecations. For the conduct of the war, eight officers were created with unlimited powers, and an irresponsible authority over the public funds. The zeal and good fortune of the Eight endeared them to the people, and the disaffected clung to them as a refuge against their oppressive rulers. Exasperated by this unexpected rivalry, the government revived the admonitions, a proceeding which served only to increase the number of their enemies; and finding their power in jeopardy, the more determined Guelphs recommended an open rupture, which might enable them to drive their adversaries out of the city. Florence, therefore, became divided between the Guelphs and the popular party. To the former adhered the ancient

[48] Mat. Villani, Lib. VIII. c. 31. [49] Mat. Villani, Lib. X. c. 24. 25.

nobility, the Albizzi, and the greater part of the popular nobles. On the other side were the Eight and all the inferior grades of the people, supported by the superior families of Ricci, Alberti, and Medici.[50] This formidable opposition obtained a signal advantage by the election of Salvestro de' Medici to the office of Gonfalonier. The family of the Medici had been long settled in Florence, and were distinguished among her citizens by the extent and success of their commercial undertakings. In after times, indeed, when the descendants of this house were numbered among the princes of Europe, the tongue of flattery was busy in multiplying tales of its ancient splendour. But the Medici of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could boast of a reputation far more splendid than they could ever derive from the chimerical exploits of their shadowy ancestors.[51]

Salvestro de' Medici, Gonfalonier. 1378.

The first object of Salvestro de' Medici was to remove the disabilities of the admonished; and he proposed a law to that effect, together with other restrictions calculated to diminish the power of the

[50] Machiavelli, Lib. III.

[51] Their name and the six pills, or balls, which the family bore in their escutcheon, seem to indicate, with sufficient clearness, their *medical* origin. But at the funeral of Catherine de' Medici, the notorious Queen of Henry II. of France, the Archbishop of Bourges, who pronounced the funeral oration, informed his audience, that Florence and the Medici owed their origin to a French gentleman, named *Felonius*, a captain in the army of Brennus during his invasion of Italy; but who quitted his patron, and gained such victories over the Medes as obtained for him the name of *Medicus!* See Brantome, Œuvres, tom. II. p. 257. (Ed. 1787.) These balls (*Palle*) became the rallying cry of the family and their partizans. See their pedigree, Appendix, Table XLII.

CHAPTER XXXI.

nobles. But finding his proposed measures rejected by the College of Arts, he abruptly laid down his office and quitted the assembly. This movement, which had probably been preconcerted, produced the greatest confusion: the populace surrounded the palace of the Signory, and were proceeding to extremities, when the affrighted Signors prevailed on Salvestro to return to the assembly, and submitted to pass his measures into a law. Their tardy acquiescence, however, failed to restore tranquillity. The populace emboldened by their success renounced all controul, and even the voice of Salvestro was overwhelmed by the impetuous clamours of the infuriated rabble. For several days the city was exposed to the disasters of fire and pillage: the houses of the most distinguished Guelphs were levelled with the earth; and many churches and monasteries fell a prey to ruinous depredation.

This general confusion encouraged a body of the very dregs of the people to call for redress of a real or imaginary grievance. The subordinate trades were already included in the fourteen lesser Arts: but as many inferior arts were without any specific class, they had hitherto been content to attach themselves to such companies as had the nearest relation to their particular calling. Still it appeared that these adherents were debarred from the advantages of their brother artisans, and failed in obtaining redress for their injuries at the hands of the Captains of the Companies of which they were not strictly members. Of all the mechanical classes

CHAPTER XXXI.

Revolt of the Ciompi. 1378.

that of the Drapers comprehended the greatest number of subordinate labourers,[52] and these now stood forward in open mutiny and fanned the exhausted flame of rebellion. The reigning powers of Florence were bewildered and helpless. The multitude besieged the palace of the Signory; they stipulated for a new classification of the Arts, and the establishment of the rights of the carders and dyers of wool, the barbers, the tailors, and other inferior trades. They demanded protection from their creditors; abolition of interest; the release of all prisoners; a general pardon for all offences; the restoration of their *admonished* friends; and the admonition of their enemies. Confounded by these exorbitant demands, the Signory requested and obtained one day's respite for deliberation. But their counsels were distracted by diversity of opinion; and despairing of coming to any satisfactory conclusion, they slunk away to their homes, and abandoned the palace to the rabble and to the Eight, who, notwithstanding the termination of the war, still maintained their power.

It chanced that the most conspicuous object which caught the attention of the plebeians whilst they occupied the deserted palace was the ragged figure

[52] They were nicknamed Ciompi, which M. de Sismondi (tom. VII. p. 138,) calls "mot français défiguré qui leur étoit resté dès les temps de la tyrannie du Duc d'Athènes." And he subjoins a note, "Du mot de *Compère*. Les soldats français appeloient souvent ainsi leurs compagnons de débauches." Alberti, however, in his Italian Dictionary, treats the word "Ciompo" as the legitimate term for a wool-carder; and adds, "E perchè tali uomini son feccia di plebe, dicesi Ciompo un uomo sciatto, uno de' costumi e di maniere vili, ed anche un dappoco."

CHAPTER XXXI.

of one Michele Lando, a wool-carder, who had taken triumphant possession of the standard of justice. With one accord they saluted him as their Gonfalonier; and Michele was thus suddenly raised to the head of the Republic. But in this high office the lowborn mechanic displayed abundance of prudence and talent. By a temperate line of conduct he restored the tranquillity of the city; introduced some wholesome reforms in the government; and evinced an impartial anxiety for the general good. His moderation was rewarded by the plebeians with hatred and insurrection: his promptness, however, suppressed the tumult, and a vigorous attack dispersed the insurgents, many of whom were expelled the city. The better order of citizens applauded the wisdom of Lando; the lower classes fell into general odium; and two plebeians, whose names at the ensuing election were drawn for office, were set aside by common consent. The government was divided between the greater and lesser Arts; but the counsels of Florence were swayed by four of the popular nobles, who had originally fomented the rebellion against the Guelph government. These were Giorgio Scali, Tommaso Strozzi, Benedetto degl' Alberti, and Salvestro de' Medici.

1381. The government of Scali and Strozzi soon grew intolerable; and Alberti refusing to sanction their tyranny, they were abandoned to the wrath of the citizens. Scali saved his life by flight; but his less fortunate colleague perished on the scaffold. These

violent measures led to a new revolution; and the Guelphs once more obtained the ascendant, amongst whom the Albizzi were predominant. The most conspicuous favourers of the plebeians were exiled, and the merits and patriotism of Lando were insufficient to save him from condemnation. A faint struggle against the recurrence of the ancient tyranny was attempted by Benedetto Alberti; but his generous effort on behalf of the liberty of his country only procured his banishment. CHAPTER XXXI. 1382. 1387.

During this depression of his party Salvestro de' Medici died, leaving his ample fortune and popular favour as an inheritance to his son Veri. The despotic government of Tommaso Albizzi having at length produced a general insurrection, the people flocked to the house of the son of Salvestro, and offered to place the government in his hands, entreating him to relieve them from the tyranny of the common enemy. "It is agreed on all sides," says Machiavelli, "that had Messer Veri been more ambitious than honest, he might, without obstruction have made himself *Prince* of the city." But though strongly urged by his kinsman Antonio[53] to seize the government, Veri contented himself with becoming the mediator between the Signory and the people; and, under promise of impunity, the malcontents laid down their arms. But the treacherous rulers no sooner found themselves suffi- Veri de' Medici. 1393

[53] Antonio de' Medici, being detected in a conspiracy in 1397, suffered death upon the scaffold. Tenhove's House of Medici, by Sir R. Clayton. vol. I. p. 27.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ciently strengthened to overwhelm their enemies than they proceeded to the banishment and execu-

1394. tion of those artisans who had been most conspicuous in the late tumults; and Veri de' Medici incurred the unmerited reproach of having deceived the people. Every attempt to overthrow the government was baffled by the vigilance and promptitude of the Signors; and the discovery of a dan-

1400. gerous conspiracy in 1400 called forth severe measures against the democratical party. Almost all the Ricci and Medici were *admonished* for ten years; and the Alberti, who were regarded as particularly dangerous, were driven into exile.[54]

Giovanni de' Medici. 1360-1429.

But the influence of the Medici was again re-established in Florence by Giovanni, a collateral relative of Salvestro. A diligent attention to trade laid the foundation of his princely fortune; and by a course of extensive commerce Giovanni de' Medici became the richest citizen in the state. Notwithstanding the jealousy of the ruling party, he was chosen Gonfalonier in 1422; and succeeded in restraining the eager and ambitious spirit of the Albizzi, and mediating between the contending factions. With a view of equalising the burthens of the state, which the aristocracy had contrived to lay chiefly on the

1427. people, Giovanni introduced the *Catasto*, or property-tax, by which the nobles were compelled to contribute in proportion to their riches. Though this measure was highly displeasing to the superior classes, its extreme fairness and the unblemished

[54] Machiav. Ist. Fior. Lib. III.

reputation of Giovanni silenced the murmurs of the discontented; and his unbounded liberality could not fail to surround him with friends. Even the enemies of his house were compelled to respect his virtues; and his death in 1429 was the subject of general lamentation.[55]

Cosimo de' Medici. 1389-1464.

The immense wealth of Giovanni de' Medici was inherited by his two sons Cosimo and Lorenzo; and the elder began eagerly to mix himself with public affairs. The members of the old Guelph faction observed his increasing influence with uneasiness, and Rinaldo degl' Albizzi spared no pains to compass his destruction. This soon produced a new division in the city; in which the party of Rinaldo for a time were triumphant. A creature of the Albizzi being elected Gonfalonier, Rinaldo easily persuaded the new magistrate to arrest Cosimo de' Medici; but after suffering a rigorous and anxious imprisonment, he mitigated the hostility of the Gonfalonier with a bribe; and the sentence of death, so ardently expected by Rinaldo, was commuted to banishment to Padua. The exile of so considerable a citizen without the shadow of any imputed crime produced a general murmur; and this arbitrary measure proved at one glorious to Cosimo and ruinous to the Albizzi. The fame of his liberality and magnificent encouragement of learning had preceded him in his journey; and in Venice, where he was permitted to reside, he was welcomed

1433.

[55] Machiavelli, Lib. IV.—Tenhove, p. 33.—Galuzzi, Istoria del Ducato, Introduz. p. 27. Firenz. 1731.

CHAPTER XXXI.

with extraordinary honours. Meanwhile the Albizzi were hastening to the conclusion of their oppressive career; the violence of Rinaldo involved him in a struggle with the new Signory; and a decree was passed, by which Cosimo was recalled from banishment, and Rinaldo and his party driven into exile. About twelve months after his nefarious sentence Cosimo re-entered Florence amidst the warmest expressions of esteem and admiration.

It is lamentable that the friends of the Medici did not rest contented with this signal triumph of their idol. But a re-action had now taken place, and the enemies of Cosimo were persecuted with banishment, and in some cases with death. A glaring breach of the ancient constitution was also effected, and a severe blow given to the liberty of Florence. It had been long the custom of the Republic, in times of difficulty and distress, to supersede the constitutional mode of choosing magistrates by lot; and to create a Balìa, or committee of a numerous body of citizens, in whom the nomination of officers and other extraordinary powers were vested. But, like the Roman dictatorship, the Florentine Balìa was justifiable on urgent occasions only, and was to be regarded with suspicion as the possible means of the most oppressive tyranny. At the return of Cosimo a Balìa for ten years was appointed, composed entirely of the
1434. friends and adherents of the Medici. New laws were introduced in their favour; the names of their enemies were withdrawn from the balloting purses,

and those of their friends substituted. The ministers of justice were nominated from their party, and all means were resorted to for the depression of the old aristocratical faction. At the expiration of the ten years, with which the Balìa ought to have expired, that arbitrary institution was renewed, and by no less than six other renewals was kept alive for twenty-one years.

This unconstitutional system was however, suspended on the death of Neri Capponi in 1455. That eminent man, who combined the genius of a statesman with the talents of a general, enjoyed consideration and influence in the republic no less than Cosimo himself; and the friends of the Medici were fortunate in obtaining the support of Neri. But when his death left Cosimo without a rival, these friends appeared jealous of the supremacy of their patron, and eagerly sought the abolition of the extraordinary powers of the Balìa. Cosimo had little to dread from the revival of the ballot, since the bags were exclusively filled with the names of his own dependents. The restoration of this system tended only to increase his popularity, whilst it served to lessen the influence of his friends with the people. Those who had been most anxious for the suspension of the Balìa now as anxiously desired its renewal; and were mortified to find Cosimo earnestly opposed to their wishes. But the sincerity of Cosimo on this occasion may be doubted, when we find him soon afterwards conniving at the violent and illegal measures of Luca Pitti. This

CHAPTER XXXI.

man, who possessed ambition without the talents necessary to support authority, owed his influence to the protection and patronage of Cosimo; and becoming Gonfalonier in 1458 resolved to extort by force what he failed to obtain by persuasion. He assembled the people, filled the palace with armed men, and drew from the terrified citizens a reluctant consent to the re-establishment of a Balìa. The new magistracy immediately commenced a rigorous persecution of all who dared to murmur at their measures; and supported by the countenance of Cosimo, Pitti began to reign in Florence with unprecedented pomp. He affected princely state; raised vast and splendid mansions; and his palace in the city, which still retains his name, surpassed in extent and magnificence the noblest edifices of the Republic.

1458.

The last days of Cosimo de' Medici were clouded by domestic affliction. Of his two sons, the elder Piero was feeble both in mind and body, and the hopes of his father were centred in the younger, Giovanni, whose talents promised to keep alive the influence of his house in Florence. But the premature death of this favourite son ruined his ambitious hopes; and the children of Piero were as yet too young to excite anticipations of the greatness to which one of them eventually succeeded. Bowed down by this calamity, the aged father soon followed his son to the grave, expiring on the first of August 1464 in the seventy-fifth year of his age. His merits and influence were felt not only

1463.

in Italy but in civilized Europe;[56] and the admiration of his countrymen was scarcely less than adoration. His immense, but well-acquired, fortune was unsparingly devoted to the encouragement of learned men and ingenious artists. He adorned the city and neighbourhood of Florence with several new churches and monasteries erected at his own expense, as well as with splendid mansions for the residence of his own family. His death was regarded as a national calamity; and his grateful fellow-citizens adorned his monument with the title of "Father of his country."[57]

Piero de' Medici. 1416-1469.

Though Piero de' Medici was little fitted to tread in the footsteps of his father, his character presented many amiable features. But continued attacks of disease depressed his natural energies; and, by imprudently calling in vast sums which Cosimo had lent, he converted the adherents of his family into personal enemies. In 1465 the Balìa expired, and the ancient ballot was restored.[58] Meanwhile the ascendency of Piero was threatened by the ambitious devices of Luca Pitti. That ardent spirit, which had been restrained during the lifetime of Cosimo, now disdained the imbecile Piero. He entered into a conspiracy with Nicolò Soderini, Diotisalvi Neroni, and Angelo Acciaioli,

[56] See Philip de Comines, Lib. VII. c. 6.

[57] Machiavelli, Lib. IV.–VII.—Sismondi, tom. X. c. 7 8.—Pignotti, Lib. IV. c. 12.

[58] Mr. Hallam (who is seldom mistaken) *believes* that after 1458 the regular drawing of names was never restored. Vol. I. p. 510. He had overlooked Sismondi, tom. X. pp. 234. 294.

CHAPTER XXXI.

three of the chief citizens of Florence, and even aimed at the assassination of his rival. The conspirators were supported by the connivance of Borso, Duke of Modena, who engaged to supply them with a body of troops. But Piero being apprized of their machinations collected an armed force; and strengthened himself by fresh supplies from Bologna and Milan. The inconstant Pitti now wavered in his resolution, and was induced to detach himself from his party and declare for Piero de' Medici. His defection was productive of the ruin of the conspirators. The new Signory were friends of the Medici; and Piero was enabled to
1466. extort from the people a new Balia of some of his own dependents. The drawing by lot was suspended for ten years; the most vigorous measures were adopted against the enemies of the Medici; and Soderini, Neroni, and Acciaioli, with many others, were compelled to quit the city. The perfidious Pitti was exempted from the general ban: but the contempt of his countrymen condemned him to solitude and infamy.

What could never have been accomplished by the son of Cosimo was thus effected by his enemies. This conspiracy and the expulsion of its authors completed the ascendency of the Medici; and the members of this house may be henceforth regarded as the hereditary sovereigns of Florence. Piero did not long survive this triumph, but expired on
1469. the 2d of December 1469. His memory may be absolved from many of the arbitrary severities in-

flicted by his party, which, however opposed to his nature, he wanted energy or authority to repress. Like his illustrious father he was an encourager of literature and the arts, and his regard for his country so far overcame his private animosities that death alone prevented his re-instating the Florentine exiles.[59] He left two sons, Lorenzo and Giuliano; and two daughters, Bianca and Nannina.[60]

IV. Pisa.

IV. After the retreat of the Emperor Charles IV. from Pisa, the attempts of Giovanni dell' Agnello, the deposed Doge,[61] to resume his power were baffled by Pietro Gambacorta, who caused himself to be elected Captain of the troops, and thus raised himself to the Signory of the city. During his government of twenty-two years Pisa enjoyed happiness and tranquillity: but the treachery of a favourite secretary, Jacopo d' Appiano, cut off his valuable life; and he was assassinated in a tumult raised by the traitor, who himself became Lord of the city. War was renewed with Florence, and Appiano received the support of Gian-Galeazzo Visconte. But that crafty politician watched the propitious moment which might enable him to seize on Pisa; and after the death of Appiano in 1398 his son Gherardo sold the government to the Duke of Milan.[62] By the Duke the city was bequeathed

1369

[59] Machiavelli, Lib. VII.

[60] Lorenzo was born on the 1st January 1448;—Giuliano in the year 1453. —Roscoe's Lorenzo, vol. I. p. 47. 8vo.

[61] Ante, vol. I. 539.

[62] Gherardo reserved for himself the Isle of Elba and Piombino, whic latter place continued in his family till the year 1600. Mur. Ann. 1399.

CHAPTER XXXI.

to his natural son Gabriello; and the arms of Florence extorted its sale from that imbecile and unfortunate prince. The indignant Pisans revolted from their new masters; but their resources were insufficient to effectuate their liberty; and after sustaining the severities of siege and famine they were surrendered by their general into the hands of the Florentines.[63] For nearly ninety years they continued under the dominion of Florence; but though their freedom was suspended and their ancient glories eclipsed, they enjoyed a state of quiet and repose to which they had been strangers for ages.[64]

Surrendered to Florence. 1406.

V. Arezzo.

Compared with these illustrious rivals, the other Tuscan Republics deserve little notice. Arezzo was purchased by the Florentines from the French, who in 1384 marched into Tuscany in re-inforcement of Louis of Anjou.

VI. Siena.

Siena, though she disdained the yoke of the German Emperor, submitted to the Duke of Milan, and after his death recovered her independence in 1404.

VII. Pistoia.

The insignificance of Pistoia is attested by the tranquillity she was permitted to enjoy; and she was rescued in 1401 from subjugation to Milan by the intervention of Florence.

VIII. Lucca.

Lucca, remarkable for her love of liberty, for a moment forgot her honour; and borne down by the torrent which overwhelmed the neighbouring cities she assented to the dictation of the Duke of Milan, and bestowed the title of Lord on one of her noblest citizens.

1400.

1430.

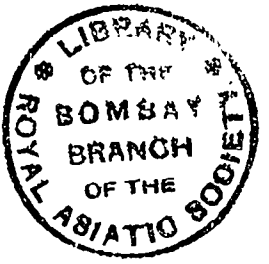
During a war with Florence the

[63] Pignotti, Lib. IV. c. 7. tom. VI. p. 49.

[64] Murat. Ann.

Republic of Lucca threw off the yoke of Guinigi; and by the assistance of Filippo-Maria Visconte and the Sienese she baffled the Florentine arms, and concluded an honourable peace with these formidable enemies.[65] 1433.

[65] Murat. Ann.—The Republic of San Marino, founded on a hill near Rimini and including about 6000 inhabitants, ought not to be forgotten; although little connected with the history of Italy. It is said to have originated in the third century, and still exists, having preserved its liberty amidst all the storms that have shattered the surrounding country. It is particularly described by Addison in his Travels;—see Works, vol. II. p. 45. 4to. 1721.


LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER XXXII.

AFFAIRS OF ITALY FROM 1463 TO 1484.

CHAPTER XXXII.

After the termination of the Neapolitan war of succession by the retirement of John of Anjou in 1463, little occurred to disturb the general peace of Italy for above fifteen years. The Florentines, who had been expelled by Piero de' Medici, for a moment induced Venice to espouse their cause and declare war against Florence; but the contest was languid, the encounters were unimportant, and a reconciliation between the Republics was easily effected.[1] The assassination of Galeazzo-Maria Sforza, Duke of Milan, produced no commotion: but a similar atrocity perpetrated in Florence was immediately productive of a war between the Italian powers.

1467.

1476.

Lorenzo, de' Medici. 1448-1492.

At the death of Piero de' Medici, his elder son, Lorenzo, had nearly attained the age of twenty-one; Giuliano, the younger, was sixteen. Both had exhibited early indications of genius, and Lorenzo was particularly distinguished by the brilliancy of his acquirements and the zeal with which

[1] Roscoe's Lorenzo, vol. I. p. 84.

he favoured the revival of literature. The city was accustomed to the mild and gentle government of the Medici, their enemies wandered in exile; and the complacent Florentines at once invested Lorenzo with the administration of the Republic. By whatever name he might sustain his authority he virtually became the *Prince* of Florence; the republican government was, however, as yet unabolished, though severely shaken; the public moderation and private virtues of Lorenzo recommended him to his fellow-citizens; the erudite beheld with pleasure his liberal patronage of art and learning; and the vulgar were delighted and dazzled by the exhibition of magnificent spectacles.

It was, however, the misfortune of Lorenzo de' Medici to incur the implacable hatred of Sixtus IV. then Pope. Of all the successors of St. Peter none had ever been so distinguished for the zeal with which he promoted his family. Himself raised from abject poverty, his throne was surrounded by a crowd of needy relations; and the convenient name of nephews concealed an affinity more strict and endearing. Of these, six were rapidly advanced to the highest stations; three bearing the name of Rovere, the alledged sons of a brother; the others named Riario, the marital appellation of a sister. Immediately after the elevation of Sixtus, Giuliano della Rovere and Pietro Riario were created cardinals; Leonardo Rovere was made Prefect of Rome, receiving in marriage the natural daughter of Ferdinand, King of Naples; Giovanni Rovere

CHAPTER XXXII.

became Prince of Sora and Sinigaglia,[2] and was united to Giovanna Montefeltro, daughter of Federico, Duke of Urbino: the distresses of Taddeo Manfredi enabled the Pope to purchase Imola for Girolamo Riario, and this especial favourite became the husband of Caterina, the natural daughter of Francesco Sforza. These promotions were soon afterwards followed by the gift of a cardinal's hat to Rafaello Riario, a boy scarce eighteen years of age.

In the course of this family exaltation, Sixtus had experienced some embarrassment from Lorenzo de' Medici. The purchase of Imola had nearly been frustrated by the interference of Florence; and the attempts of the warlike cardinal Giuliano to reduce Nicolò Vitelli, Lord of Città di Castello, had been defeated by the timely succour of a Florentine force. These checks to the aggrandisement of his kindred awoke the bitterest wrath in the Pope; and Girolamo beheld in the Medici two formidable rivals who might one day deprive him of his dominions, whenever the death of Sixtus left him without papal protection. Full of resentment and apprehension, Girolamo Riario resolved upon the destruction of his enemies; and he discovered in Rome an agent, whose co-operation promised complete success.

Amongst the ancient nobility of Florence the Pazzi had been distinguished for the antiquity and wealth of their family. After the passing of the Ordi-

[2] And afterwards, on the death of his brother Leonardo, Prefect of Rome.

nances of Justice, which deprived the nobles of all share in the Florentine government, the Pazzi, like many others of similar rank, had submitted to degrade themselves to the popular classes; and being thus admitted into the Arts, became eligible to office. Their wealth and consideration made Cosimo de' Medici desirous of their alliance, and he brought about a marriage between Bianca, the daughter of Piero, and Guglielmo the son of Antonio de' Pazzi. Notwithstanding this near connexion, the two families appear to have regarded each other with jealousy; and there is reason to believe that, by the contrivance of the Medici, a retrospective law had been enacted with intent to deprive one of the Pazzi of a considerable fortune, which he would otherwise have obtained by his marriage with the daughter of Giovanni Borromeo. It happened that at the moment Girolamo conceived his murderous design, Francesco Pazzi resided in Rome, where he acted as treasurer of Sixtus. The known animosity of Francesco to the Medici encouraged Riario to consult him on the occasion, and he at once became possessed of a zealous coadjutor. The conference in which the assassination of the brothers was decreed took place in the presence of the Pope; and the head of the Church heard and approved the sanguinary counsels of the conspirators. Thus fortified, Francesco communicated the plot to Jacopo de' Pazzi, his uncle, who then resided in Florence, and was considered the head of the family; and Jacopo enter-

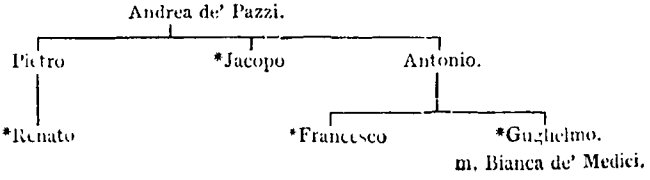
CHAPTER XXXII.

ing warmly into the design communicated it to his nephews, Renato and Guglielmo. The former declined taking an active part; whilst Guglielmo Pazzi, who was brother of Francesco, applauded the massacre of his wife's brothers.[3]

Conspiracy of the Pazzi. 1478.

The conspiracy being thus matured, instruments for the great work were not wanting. Jacopo Salviati, Archbishop of Pisa, had been promoted by Sixtus to his high office in defiance of the representations of his unfitness made by Lorenzo de' Medici: and he now readily entered into the scheme for destroying his opponent. Jacopo, son of the illustrious Poggio Bracciolini; Bernardo Bandini and Napoleone Francesi, two men of desperate fortunes; Gianbattista Montesicco, a mercenary leader in pay of Sixtus; Antonio Maffei, a priest and apostolic scribe; and Stefano Bagnone, another priest and tutor of a natural son of Jacopo Pazzi; these were the motley accomplices of the Pope in this iniquitous enterprise. To give effect to the proceedings of the conspirators, Sixtus despatched a body of troops into the neighbourhood of Florence, under pretence of checking Carlo Montoni, a soldier of fortune, who had recently infested the

[3] The conspirators were thus related;



territories of Perugia and Siena; and the young cardinal Rafaello Riario was directed to repair from Pisa to Florence, and implicitly to comply with the injunctions of the Archbishop.[4] CHAPTER XXXII.

The arrival of Rafaello at Florence was a convenient pretext for festivity; Jacopo Pazzi took occasion to invite Lorenzo and Giuliano to his villa at Montughi; and Lorenzo afterwards entertained the cardinal with great splendour at Fiesole. But on both these occasions the designs of the conspirators were frustrated; for Giuliano was at both times absent, and the contemporaneous destruction of the two brothers was deemed matter of absolute necessity. Rafaello, however, signified his intention to attend mass in the cathedral on the following Sunday; and the Medici were expected to be also present. It had been previously arranged that the murder of Lorenzo should be committed to Montesicco, and that of Giuliano to Francesco Pazzi and Bernardo Bandini: but the scruples of the soldier now interfered with this arrangement; and though he had undertaken the deed when it was to be perpetrated under the roof of his victim, he peremptorily refused to incur the guilt of sacrilege by the spilling of blood in the holy sanctuary. The priests, however, were incumbered by no such scruples; and Maffei and Bagnone were entrusted with the task. It was then finally resolved that the communion of the priest[5] should be the

[4] Murat. Ann. 1478.—Sismondi, tom. XI. p. 9'.

[5] According to several authors, the signal was to be the elevation of the

CHAPTER XXXII.

fatal signal, and that whilst the brothers were intent on the mysterious symbol, the appointed agents should strike to their hearts. Meanwhile the Archbishop with a select few was to take possession of the palace of the Signory, whilst one of the Pazzi rode the city, and animated the people by the cry of Liberty.

All preliminaries being thus adjusted, the conspirators assembled in the cathedral[6] on the 26th of April 1478. But though the cardinal and Lorenzo made their appearance and the service was commenced, Giuliano was still absent. Francesco and Bandini, therefore, left the church, resolved to lure their victim to his destiny. They found the unsuspecting young man, whose absence had been occasioned by a tumour on his thigh which rendered motion painful; but who soon yielded to their representations of the propriety of his assisting at this solemn ceremony. They accordingly conducted him to the cathedral, where the dense crowd immediately made way for the favourite of Florence and his associates.

Lorenzo and Giuliano were intently absorbed before the altar; and the service proceeded. At the appointed moment Bandini plunged his poignard into the breast of Giuliano, who staggering a few paces fell upon the pavement, whilst Francesco

Giuliano de' Medici murdered.

host; and these Mr. Roscoe has followed. But from the account of Poliziano, who was present, printed in Mr. Roscoe's Appendix, No. XXI. and another contemporary document, No. XXVIII. it appears that the communion was fixed upon for the murder.

[6] Originally called Santa Reparata; afterwards, S. Maria del Fiore

Pazzi followed up the blow with such blind fury that he inflicted a severe wound on his own thigh. Meanwhile Maffei and Bagnone attacked Lorenzo, and a blow from the former unskilfully aimed produced a wound in the neck. Lorenzo started from beneath the assassins: throwing his cloak round his left arm, he warded off their weapons; and drawing his sword stood upon his defence. The murderers foiled in their attempt instantly fled from the spot, and were cut to pieces by the followers of the Medici. The life of Lorenzo was now threatened by Bandini, who rushed towards him, laying his faithful dependent Francesco Nori dead at his feet. But the friends of Lorenzo quickly surrounded him, and hurrying him into the sacristy secured the brazen gates. The body of Giuliano, which displayed no less than nineteen wounds, was then removed from the church, and Lorenzo was conducted in safety to his house.

In the meantime, the Archbishop had entered the palace of the Signory, where he was encountered by the Gonfalonier, Cesare Petrucci, a man well known for his firmness and promptitude. Under pretence of communicating a message from the Pope, Salviati advanced towards him; but his voice and manner evinced so much confusion, that Petrucci rushed to the door, where he found Poggio and others waiting the signal of the Archbishop. Seizing Poggio by the hair he dragged him to the ground, whilst the officers secured his companions; and in a few minutes all the associates of Salviati

CHAPTER XXXII.

were made prisoners in the palace. Nor was the career of Jacopo Pazzi more successful; his efforts to rouse the people were utterly ineffectual; his shouts of Liberty were lost in the cry of *Palle! Palle!;* and finding how completely the enterprise had failed, he precipitately fled out of the city.[7]

A dreadful retribution awaited the conspirators. The Archbishop, with his brother and cousin, were immediately hanged from the windows of the palace; and Poggio underwent the same fate. Many of their more obscure partisans were abandoned to the fury of the multitude. Francesco Pazzi was taken, and hanged by the side of the Archbishop; and Jacopo, who had escaped to the Apennines, was delivered up by the peasantry, and suffered with his passive nephew Renato. Montesicco was beheaded, having disclosed the participation of the Pope; and Bandini, though he succeeded in reaching Constantinople, was delivered up at the instance of the Florentine consul[8] in Pera, and hanged in Florence. The affinity of Guglielmo Pazzi with the Medici mitigated his punishment to exile; and the young cardinal Rafaello Riario, who had with difficulty been rescued by Lorenzo from the wrath of his followers, was sent prisoner to Volterra.

[7] Machiavelli, Lib. VIII.—His expression is very strong;—" Perchè l' uno (il popolo) era dalla fortuna e liberalità de' Medici fatto sordo, l' altra (libertà, in Firenze non era conosciuta." p. 404. Opere, tom. 1. 4to. Firenze, 1782.

[8] This identical consul, Battista Frescobaldi, subsequently entered into a conspiracy against Lorenzo, and perished on the scaffold —Roscoe, vol. II. p. 6.—Pignotti, Lib. IV. c. 15.

Napoleone Francesi appears entirely to have eluded pursuit.[9]

The failure of his atrocious design drove Sixtus almost to madness. The less obnoxious brother had, indeed, been cut off; but the death of Giuliano had been dearly purchased by the destruction of an archbishop and other ecclesiastics, and by the imprisonment of his cardinal nephew. As if the guilt of this transaction had rested on Lorenzo, the furious Pope burst forth into the direst imprecations upon the head of him who had violated these sacred persons, and whom he denounced as "the Son of Iniquity and Nurseling of Perdition." Lorenzo and the Florentine magistrates were excommunicated, and the city itself was laid under an interdict. The papal forces were drawn out for an attack upon Florence; and the readiness with which Ferdinand of Naples sent his troops to the assistance of Sixtus has probably been the chief ground for supposing him privy to the late conspiracy. The army of the Pope was commanded by Federico, Duke of Urbino; that of Ferdinand, by his son Alfonso, Duke of Calabria. The situation of Lorenzo was embarrassing. The hostile forces had already entered the Florentine territory; but so little prepared was the Republic for a war, that no commander was as yet appointed. Most of the Italian states, however, were favourable to Lorenzo, and sent messengers to Rome to deprecate the renewal of war in the bosom of Italy, whilst her

[9] Machiavelli.—Roscoe.—Sismondi.—Pignotti.

CHAPTER XXXII.

shores were every day menaced by the Turkish gallies. Louis XI. King of France professed himself the friend and admirer of Lorenzo; and the celebrated Philippe de Comines was despatched to Italy to solicit, in the name of his master, the good offices of Milan and other states.[10]

Sixtus was inexorable to all amicable overtures: but principally intent on the ruin of Lorenzo, he intimated to the Florentines that they might purchase pardon by delivering up their ruler into his hands. Meanwhile Florence had entered into an negociation with Hercules, Duke of Ferrara; who, although son-in-law of Ferdinand, was entrusted with the command of the Florentine army. The Dutchess-Regent of Milan, the Marquis of Mantua, Roberto Malatesta II. Lord of Rimini, and Giovanni Bentivoglio, the principal citizen of Bologna, also declared themselves the allies of Lorenzo. The war was at first carried on with varying success, neither party reaping any important advantage. But Florence was unfortunately deprived of the assistance of Milan by a revolution which now took place in that principality. The ambitious Lodovico Sforza, encouraged by the countenance of the Pope, treacherously snatched the reins from the dutchess. He succeeded in corrupting the governor of Tortona, and took possession of the town: he gained over the keeper of the castle of Milan, who surrendered to him that fortress. By his af-

War of the Pope against Florence.

[10] Philip briefly relates his embassy, and his reception in Florence. He describes Lorenzo as "jeune, et gouverné de jeunes gens." Liv. VI. c. 5.

fected submission he was reconciled to the Regent and re-admitted into the city. He caused the faithful minister Cecco Simonetta to be arrested, and subsequently put to death; and he annihilated the power of the dutchess by a declaration that his nephew, though but twelve years of age, was ripe for the government. The dutchess intimidated by these manœuvres soon afterwards withdrew from the city, and the crafty Lodovico became master of Milan and its prince.[11]

Lodovico Sforza seizes Milan 1479.

On the very day which preceded the entry of Sforza into Milan, the troops of Florence suffered a severe disgrace from the Duke of Calabria. Dissensions had arisen in the camp amongst the leaders of an army so variously composed, and the Duke of Ferrara withdrew to his own dominions, leaving his brother Sigismondo to supply his place. Alfonso, apprized of the confusion which prevailed amongst the confederates, promptly marched upon them; and struck such a panic by his sudden appearance, that, though superior in numbers and position, they fled in disorder, leaving their baggage and artillery to the enemy. This shameful disaster, which took place near Poggibonsi, only eighteen miles from Florence, filled the city with the most frightful anticipations. The distress was aggravated by the plague, which then devastated the city; and the capture of the town of Colle and other of their possessions, though it delayed the progress of Alfonso, overwhelmed the Florentines

7th September.

[11] Murat. Ann. 1478. 1479.—Machiavelli, Lib. VIII. p. 120

CHAPTER XXXII.

with despair. Their last resource lay in a small body of men engaged in the siege of Perugia, who were hastily recalled for the rescue of the capital. But the near approach of winter proved their best protection; the weather grew unpropitious to the movements of the enemy; and Florence was gladdened by the offer of a truce for three months, which was rapturously accepted.[12]

During this respite from impending destruction, the citizens of Florence could not fail to recur to Lorenzo as the chief, though innocent, cause of their late misfortunes. The prosperity of the Republic was suspended; her treasury exhausted; her commerce disordered; her liberty endangered; her very existence dependent on the unpromising event of a ruinous war. A single family had become absolute masters of the government, and to their ambition enormous sacrifices had been offered. These topics of discontent might also present themselves to Lorenzo, although no tongue had dared to utter the unwelcome truth. In this emergency he embraced a singular resolution, the wisdom or folly of which could be estimated only by the result. In defiance of the known perfidy of the King of Naples and the eagerness of the Pope for his destruction, he determined to visit Ferdinand, and to brave the dangers of a residence in an enemy's capital. He accordingly set sail for Naples. The reputation of this illustrious man was deservedly great throughout Italy, and the King was animated by a kindred

[12] Machiavelli, Lib. VIII. p. 416.—Sismondi, tom. XI. p. 169.

desire for the promotion of literature. The vengeance of Sixtus was directed against the person of Lorenzo; the republic of Florence was the object of Ferdinand's hostility. He accordingly no sooner learned the approach of the renowned stranger, than he resolved to receive him with merited distinction. The affable manners of Lorenzo, his exalted character, and his elegant accomplishments made a deep impression upon the Neapolitan court; and after repeated solicitations the King yielded to his importunity, and assented to a peace with Florence upon easy conditions. This successful issue of his hazardous enterprise secured him an enthusiastic reception on his return to his countrymen, and his patriotism and self-devotion were extolled to the skies. Two days after his arrival in the city, the peace was published, by which each party agreed to enter into a league for their mutual defence; the Florentines being bound to release the imprisoned Pazzi, and to pay a stipulated sum to the Duke of Calabria.

Peace with Ferdinand, King of Naples. 6th March; 1480.

The news of this treaty excited the vehement fury of the Pope. When he heard of the departure of Lorenzo for Naples, he poured forth the most fervent injunctions to Ferdinand against listening to the voice of the charmer; and declared himself inexorably fixed in his animosity towards Florence. But in the midst of his imprecations an event occurred which filled him, as well as the rest of the Italians, with inexpressible dismay: the Turks had gained a footing on the Apulian shore.

The name of Mahomed II. had long been for-

CHAPTER XXXII.

midable to Europe, and the conqueror of Constantinople maintained the reputation of his arms during the late contest with Venice. That the subverter of the Roman Empire in the East should aspire to the conquest of the western capital may be reasonably believed: and it is to the eternal disgrace of Venice, that she was mainly instrumental in conducting the Ottoman force to the Italian coast. A deep-rooted enmity had long existed between the Republic and the King of Naples; and a vague report has been repeated, that the ravages of the Turks in Friuli were invited or encouraged by Ferdinand.[13] The guilt of Venice rests on more certain foundations. After her peace with the Sultan in 1179, she sent Sebastiano Gritti to Constantinople, who exhorted Mahomed to take possession of the cities of Apulia and Calabria, the ancient dominions of the Greek empire.[14] This exhortation, so congenial to his ambitious views, was not lost upon Mahomed. A fleet of seventy sail was forthwith despatched, and the Turkish force landed near Otranto on the 28th of July 1480. That city was immediately invested, and after a siege of fifteen days was taken by assault.[15]

The Turks land in Italy. 1480.

Otranto taken.

At this moment, Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, lay

[13] "Cette course des Turcs vers le Frioul avoit été conseillée à Mahomet par le Roi Ferdinand, son allié secret, et qui ne trouvoit rien d' inviolable, pourvu qu' il suscitât des embarras aux Vénitiens." Laugier, tom. VIII. p. 335. This writer cites no authority for his narrative, but contents himself with naming in his Preface the sources whence he has drawn his information.

[14] Laugier, p. 370.—Daru, Liv. XVIII. tom. III. p. 6. from Sanuto.—Costanzo and other historians do not scruple to accuse Lorenzo de' Medici of inviting the Turks. See, however, Roscoe, vol. I. p. 228.

[15] Giannone, Lib. XXVIII. tom. VIII. p. 323.

with his army near Siena, in the hope of availing himself of the dissensions between the nobles and people of that state, so as to reduce the city under Naples. But the consternation caused by the capture of Otranto called for his immediate return to the South, and he reluctantly relinquished his anticipated conquests in Tuscany. The Turkish invasion filled the Pope with the most dismal apprehensions; in his disordered imagination the banner of Mahomed already floated over the city of St. Peter; and he was at length convinced of the impolicy of his conduct towards Florence, when the near approach of the Infidels called aloud for co-operation. The ambassadors of the Republic were, therefore, admitted to his presence; their submission and penitence were readily accepted; and, after degrading themselves by an admission of their imputed guilt, the Florentines were restored to the favour of the Church.[16]

Florence absolved. 3d Dec. 1480.

Against the formidable invaders, a general league was set on foot among the Italian states, including the Pope, the King of Naples, the Dukes of Milan and Ferrara, the Marquisses of Mantua and Montferrat, and the Republics of Florence, Genoa, Siena, Lucca, and Bologna; whilst the Kings of Hungary, Aragon, and Portugal, undertook to furnish assist-

League against the Turks.

[16] Machiavelli, Lib. VIII. p. 425.—Murat. Ann. 1481. The conduct of Sixtus on this occasion has been variously stated by historians. By Sanuto we are told that he joined in a league with Ferdinand and Florence together with Milan and Genoa prior to the landing of the Turks, and so say Laugier (tom. VII. p. 361., and Daru, (tom. III. p. 3. —According, however, to Machiavel, Sixtus was never reconciled to Florence until after the conquest of Otranto; and in this he is followed by Giannone, Sismondi, and Roscoe.

CHAPTER XXXII.

ance. The Venetians declined entering into the league. But the sudden death of Mahomed II. opportunely delivered Italy from present danger. The Turkish commander finding himself assailed by the Neapolitan troops and the Genoese gallies, and being disappointed of an expected re-inforcement, effected an honourable capitulation; and after occupying Otranto about a year delivered up the city to Alfonso, and embarked for Constantinople. The safety of Italy was further secured by a violent altercation between Bajazet and Zizim,[17] the sons of Mahomed; and a struggle for the throne diverted the rival brothers from pursuing their father's designs upon the territories of Naples.[18]

Death of Mahomed II. 3d May. 1481.

The Turks abandon Italy.

Girolamo Riario, Lord of Imola and Forli.

Sixtus, being thus relieved from the terrour of the Infidels, had leisure to carry on the great object of his life, the advancement of his own family. The Count Girolamo Riario, whom men did not hesitate to designate as the Pope's own son, was already master of Imola, when an opportunity occurred of increasing his dominion. Pino degl' Ordelaffi, Lord of Forli, died in 1480, bequeathing the city to his natural son Sinibaldo in preference to his legitimate nephews; and Girolamo so well availed himself of a contest between these parties as to become master of Forli, by the arbitration of Sixtus and the martial aid of the Duke of Urbino.[19] An attempt,

[17] This Prince is generally called Zizim; but his real name was Jem, which we are informed by Cantemir (Book III. chap. II. note 15.) was the term for the finest grapes. See also Paulus Jovius, Lib. II. p. 27.

[18] Giannone, Lib. XXVIII.—Murat. Ann. 1481.—Daru, tom. III. p. 6.

[19] Sismondi, tom. XI. p. 209.

however, to wrest Pesaro from Costanzo Sforza[20] was foiled by the timely interference of Florence and Naples; and the views of Sixtus and his favourite were turned to another scheme of depredation.

Differences had arisen between Venice and Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, which soon ripened into an open war. The alliance of the Duke with the sovereigns of Naples and Milan was to the jealous Venetians matter of distrust and quarrel; and they found themselves supported by the Pope, who foresaw great advantages to be derived by his nephew Girolamo in the division of the estates of Ferrara. The growing ambition of Venice had long given uneasiness to the rest of Italy; and Lorenzo de' Medici had already concerted a league for restraining the rapacity of the Republic.[21] On the present occasion, Ferdinand, King of Naples, sent succours to his son-in-law, the Duke of Ferrara; and Milan, Mantua, Florence, and Bologna united for the protection of the repose of Italy. Sixtus now stood forth as the avowed enemy of the ancient vassal of the Church, and despatched a force to intercept the Duke of Calabria in his march to Ferrara. The Duke avenged himself by the capture of Terracina, Trevi, and other towns, and was preparing to attack Rome itself, when he was diverted by the approach of the papal army under the command of Roberto Malatesta, Lord of Ri-

War between Venice and Ferrara. 1482.

[20] Costanzo succeeded his father Alessandro in 1473.

[21] Guicciardini, Lib. I. tom. I. p. 6. 8vo. Firenze, 1818.

CHAPTER XXXII.

mini. Alfonso fell back upon Velletri, and the two armies encountering near that place, the Neapolitan forces were entirely defeated in a pitched battle, valiantly contested, and distinguished by the unusual slaughter of more than a thousand men.[22] Alfonso himself narrowly escaped the hands of his enemies, and owed his safety chiefly to a body of Turks, who had joined him on the evacuation of Otranto. After this signal victory Roberto returned in triumph to Rome, where his career of glory was at once cut short; and the sudden death of this renowned captain raised a violent suspicion of poison against the envious Girolamo. Perhaps it was to stifle this heinous charge, that Rimini did not follow the fate of Forli; and that Pandolfo Malatesta III. the natural son of Roberto, was permitted to succeed to his father's inheritance.[23]

The affairs of Ferrara now assumed a gloomy aspect, and the Venetians already numbered the estates of the Duke among their conquests. But on a sudden they found themselves deserted by their only ally. The enemies of Venice had discovered the key to the heart of Sixtus; and by dazzling offers to the beloved Girolamo they effectually changed the whole course of his policy. These were, besides a considerable sum, the principalities of Faenza and Rimini, and the marriage of Girolamo's daughter with the heir of Ferrara. To secure this rich succession for his nephew, the

[22] Machiavelli, Lib. VIII. p. 430.

[23] Murat. Ann. 1482. —Machiavelli ascribes his death to a natural cause

CHAPTER XXXII.

Pope unhesitatingly renounced the Venetian cause. He sent the most pressing messages to the Venetians, calling upon them to desist from hostilities; and finding them deaf to his exhortations, joined the league against them, and thundered forth excommunication and interdict.

Venice excommunicated. 25th May; 1483.

But though Venice refused to treat at the command of the Pope, she was not unwilling to listen to the pacific overtures of the other powers; and the Duke of Ferrara consenting to make over Rovigo and the Polesine, she concluded a peace with her allied enemies. The crooked policy of Sixtus was amply punished; the promises made to his nephew were overlooked in the negotiation; and the treaty was signed without his participation, and even in defiance of his most earnest protestations. Twice had this profligate and bloodstained politician embroiled Italy for his private ends; and twice opposed his voice to the blessings of peace. His death is said to have been occasioned by the termination of the war so congenial to his turbulent nature; and the few days which elapsed between the two events give plausibility to the assertion. But old age and repeated attacks of the gout and other diseases may be considered as the real destroyers of Sixtus IV., though their operation was probably quickened by the vehemence of his wrath and the intenseness of his resentment. He died on the 12th of August 1481 in his seventy-first year, having just completed the fourteenth of his reign. He deserves the praise of a cultivator of learning,

Peace of Bagnolo. 7th Aug. 1484.

Death of Sixtus IV.

CHAPTER XXXII.

and the city of Rome received great embellishment from his munificence. But under him, the benefices of the holy see exhibited the grossest corruption; and to furnish means for the lavish expenditure of his sons or nephews, the offices both of church and state were exposed to public sale.[24] The treasure which his rapacity had collected was wasted in unnecessary warfare, and scandalous debauches. His personal antipathies were gratified by persecution and outrage; and in the last years of his reign, Rome was filled with tumult and bloodshed. The feud between the families of Orsini and Colonna was renewed with calamitous results; and whilst Sixtus and Girolamo Riario declared themselves partisans of the former, the latter were exposed to all the severities of confiscation and murder. Their possessions were besieged and destroyed; their palaces plundered and burnt. The protonotary, Lodovico Colonna, fell a sacrifice to the private resentment of Girolamo; and being delivered over to his enemies, was tortured and beheaded amidst the acclamations of the Orsini.[25] These horrors were repeated immediately upon the death of Sixtus. The Colonna again took up arms to avenge their injuries and recover their possessions, and the city of Rome was for some days afflicted with bloodshed, pillage, and conflagration.

[24] "To Sixtus IV. posterity are also indebted for the institution of inquisitors of the press, without whose licence no work was suffered to be printed." Roscoe's Lorenzo, vol. II. p. 17.

[25] Machiavelli, Lib. VIII. p. 131.—Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 386.—Sismondi, tom. XI. p. 240.

The flame was fanned by the Count Girolamo, who seized on the Castle of St. Angelo; but unwilling to incur the displeasure of the new Pope, he yielded to the persuasions of the cardinals; and surrendering the fortress into their hands, restored tranquillity by retreating to Imola.[26]

[26] Machiavelli, p. 436.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

AFFAIRS OF ITALY FROM 1484 TO 1493.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE Conclave now assembled was conducted with the usual intrigue and more than usual corruption. The choice appeared to lie between Cardinal Borgia, Chancellor of Rome, and Gianbattista Cibo, a Genoese, Cardinal of Melfi. The latter possessed a warm friend in Giuliano della Rovere, the late Pope's nephew, Cardinal of St. Peter *ad vincula;* and the influence of this zealous partisan was increased by lavish promises of estates, preferment, and money. The friends of Borgia despairing of success united their efforts with Giuliano, and by the votes of twenty-four cardinals out of twenty-eight, Cibo was raised to the apostolic chair. He assumed the title of Innocent VIII.[1]

Innocent VIII. 1484-1492.

The character of the new Pope was rather that of mildness and humanity than talent, learning, or enterprise. Like his predecessor Sixtus, he had

[1] The particulars of this election appear from a curious letter, published by Mr. Roscoe from Fabroni, in his Life of Lorenzo, vol. II. App. No. XLIV. —The writer, Guidantonio Vespucci, informs his correspondent Lorenzo of the bribes which the several cardinals received. The chief supporters of Borgia were the cardinal of Aragon John, son of Ferdinand, King of Naples) and cardinal Visconte.

indulged his amorous propensities, and was the father of several illegitimate children, whom he did not scruple openly to avow. Nor was he indifferent to the advancement of his family. But in their provision he did not incur the censure of violence and rapacity, which had so shamefully marked the preceding reign.

The commencement of Innocent's reign ill accorded with his peaceful disposition. But he had owed his cardinal's hat, as well as the Popedom, to Giuliano della Rovere; and these obligations would necessarily have given ascendency over the Pope to that vigorous and warlike prelate. Immediately on his elevation, Innocent found himself involved in a war with the King of Naples, who in early life had been his friend and patron; and the counsels of Giuliano probably encouraged him in this breach of the law of gratitude. The cruelty, perfidy, and extortion of Ferdinand had incurred the hatred of his subjects; and the character of his son Alfonso threatened violence and tyranny, when he should in turn ascend the throne. The Neapolitan barons, therefore, saw no relief from their grievances but in the expulsion of the family of Aragon; and to the Pope, as paramount lord of the kingdom, they poured forth their calls for redress. At this moment the Pope had hazarded a rupture with the King, by renewing the claim of the holy see to a tribute, which Ferdinand had prevailed on Sixtus to commute for the annual present of a horse. The resistance of Ferdinand to this demand produced a

War between the Pope and Naples. 1485.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Rebellion of the Neapolitan nobles.

declaration of hostilities; and the barons, availing themselves of this circumstance, burst out into open rebellion. And within the court, the King was exposed to the treachery of his chief favourites Coppola and Petrucci, who opened a secret intelligence with the insurgent nobles.

Thus menaced by the Pope and his own subjects, Ferdinand saw the necessity of re-establishing security within his kingdom; and he despatched his second son Frederic to negotiate with the revolted barons, who had hoisted their standard at Salerno. The character of this prince was as highly esteemed as that of his brother was detested; and instead of listening to his embassy from the King, the insurgents unanimously besought him to become their monarch, and rescue them from the present reign of despotism. But the virtuous Frederic was proof against this dazzling offer; he declined receiving a crown which was not their's to bestow; and the barons, chagrined at his firmness, detained him for the present as their prisoner.[2]

In this perplexing situation, the King of Naples looked anxiously around for assistance. From Venice he had nothing to hope; and from Lodovico Sforza, who then governed Milan, he received an evasive answer. His hopes were, therefore, centred in Lorenzo de' Medici, whose authority in Florence had now arrived at its height. The brilliant qualities of this illustrious man, his liberality, his patronage of genius, his affability, his eloquence,

[2] Cienarmi, Lib. XXVIII. c. I. tom. VIII. p. 311.

justly endeared him to his fellow-citizens; and the bold and successful step of appealing in person to the King of Naples filled them with blind idolatry. After his return from this hazardous expedition, Lorenzo availed himself of his popularity to introduce such a change in the government, as entirely abrogated the ancient constitution of Florence. Upon the plea that the dangers of the state required a compact and united council, a senate of seventy citizens was instituted, for the conduct of all important affairs and deliberations.[3] Thus then the authority of the ancient councils was superseded by a permanent body, to whom was entrusted the nomination of persons qualified to fill magistracies and other offices. How advantageous this institution was to Lorenzo appeared by one of its first acts. A widely-extended commerce, which had so largely enriched his ancestors, was to him a source of ruin; the unskilfulness and profusion of his agents involved him in enormous debts, and from these he could only be extricated by appropriating the revenues of the state.[4] By the Seventy the debts of Lorenzo were accordingly liquidated out of the public treasury.[5]

At the moment when Ferdinand implored the assistance of Lorenzo, the Florentines were engaged in warfare with the Genoese, who had taken

[3] Machiavelli, Lib. VIII. p. 423.

[4] Machiavelli, p. 448.

[5] Sismondi, tom. XI. p. 187.—Roscoe, vol. II. p. 133.—The opposite prejudices of these two writers make it dangerous to quote either *separately* where Lorenzo de' Medici is concerned. But little doubt can exist of a fact in which they agree.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

forcible possession of Sarzana, a town situated on the boundary of their respective territories. As a step to recover this valuable place, Pietra Santa was besieged and captured; but disease, both of himself and his troops, induced Lorenzo to suspend his attack on Sarzana until a more favourable season. To the call of Ferdinand he immediately listened. Anxious as he might be to cultivate the friendship of the Pope, he felt himself bound in honour to support the King of Naples. Though he found in Florence great aversion to a new war, the eloquence of Lorenzo was successfully called forth to bring over the Seventy to his views.[6] The assistance of Florence seems to have been afforded by pecuniary supplies and attempts to inflame the enemies of the Pope, rather than by active co-operation in the field. The Duke of Calabria advanced towards Rome, and was met by the papal army under
1486. Roberto Sanseverino; an engagement was fought near Lamentana, which terminated without a death or even a wound; and this strange encounter being followed by the retreat of Roberto, the victory was claimed by the Duke, who advanced to the walls of Rome. It was no very difficult matter to terminate this languid war. Innocent, terrified by an enemy without the gates, and dreading the machinations of the Orsini within the city, anxiously desired peace;

[6] Sismondi, p. 231.—Roscoe, p. 25.—According to the former, "il vouloit faire sacrifier l'intérêt comme les principes de la république à son avantage personnel;"—according to the latter, "through the thick mist of popular fears and prejudices, he distinctly saw the beacon of the public welfare."—Such is History!

whilst the disordered state of his own dominions, and perpetual fear of the Anjevin claims, infused the same desire into Ferdinand. The King without hesitation yielded to the terms of the Pope; agreed to pay the accustomed tribute to the holy see; and bound himself freely and unconditionally to pardon his rebellious barons.[7]

Peace 11th August, 1486.

The restoration of peace enabled Lorenzo de' Medici to add Innocent to the number of his friends. Far from resenting his adverse conduct during the late contest, the Pontiff is reported to have expressed his admiration of Lorenzo's constancy to his ally, and even to have interceded with his countrymen for the restoration of Sarzana to Florence. His request being unheeded, the Florentines again took the field, and the siege of Sarzana was speedily followed by its reduction. This victory was productive of a change in Genoa itself. The Archbishop Paolo Fregoso, who for the second time had usurped the government in 1483, was filled with dread of the victorious Florentines; and in order to avoid a second deposition surrendered the independence of his country into the hands of Lodovico Sforza. A new commotion in the following year accomplished the debasement of the usurper; and Agostino Adorno obtained the government of Genoa for ten years, in the name of the Duke of Milan.[8]

The Florentines retake Sarzana. 1487.

Genoa surrendered to Milan.

Notwithstanding the known bad faith of the

[7] Giannone, ub. sup.—Sismondi, p. 276.

[8] Murat. Ann. 1488.—Machiavelli, Lib. VIII.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

King of Naples, the Pope could scarcely expect an immediate infraction of the late treaty, more especially as its security had been guaranteed by Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Aragon and Castile, by the Duke of Milan, and by Lorenzo de' Medici. But the perfidy of Ferdinand prevailed over every tie of honour and humanity; and his hands were soon dyed in the blood of those nobles, whose lives were protected by express terms. These nobles, indeed, appear to have well understood the danger of relying on the faithless old King. Antonio Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno, fled to France, and others retired to the security of their castles. At length their fears began to subside. Ferdinand and his son Alfonso displayed the greatest anxiety to bury in oblivion the late dissensions, and no arts of conciliation were neglected. Won over by these specious appearances, many of the chief nobility suffered themselves to be taken in the snare, and their imprisonment and murder immediately followed. The regular supply of food at their dungeons for a time induced their friends to hope that their lives might still be spared; but the secret at length transpired; and the public executioner being found in possession of a gold chain belonging to one of the victims, an avowal was elicited, that all had been relentlessly butchered, and committed in silence to the midnight ocean.[9]

Murder of the Neapolitan nobles. 1487.

These calamities in Naples were soon after fol-

[9] Giannone, ub. sup.—Sismondi, p. 278.

lowed by two remarkable assassinations in the papal States. After the death of Sixtus IV., Girolamo Riario, Lord of Imola and Forli, by a series of cruel and oppressive acts, became intolerable to his subjects; and his menaces awakened the apprehensions of Francesco d'Orso, a man of the first consideration in Forli. Resolved to anticipate the tyrant's vengeance, Francesco imparted his design to some chosen friends, and the destruction of Girolamo was decreed. The conspirators repaired to his house at the moment when Girolamo, who had just supped, was deserted by his attendants; and gaining admission on the plea of business, they entered the inner chamber of the Count, and executed their bloody purpose. Far from attempting to conceal their guilt, they flung the dead body into the street, and with shouts of "liberty" announced to the people that their oppressor was no more. They next seized upon the Countess Caterina[10] and her children, and made themselves masters of Forli, with the exception of the castle. They menaced the widowed Countess with death, unless she exerted her influence to procure its surrender; and, under pretence of exerting her authority, Caterina made her way into the fortress. But no sooner had she secured herself within than she raised the standard of Milan, and breathed defiance and vengeance against the assassins of her husband. To overcome her resolution, the people presented her

Murder of Girolamo Riario 14th April. 1488.

[10] She was the natural daughter of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan; and afterwards married Giovanni de' Medici.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

children at the castle gates, and threatened them with instant death, in case she delayed to surrender. But Caterina, suppressing her maternal feelings, retorted the threats of her enemies; and remained secure in the castle until the arrival of a friendly troop from Milan, who proclaimed her eldest son Ottaviano Lord of his father's dominions.[11]

And of Galeotto Manfredi. 31st May.

The assassination of the Lord of Forli was succeeded by that of the Lord of Faenza, under circumstances of the greatest atrocity. Galeotto de' Manfredi, who had been restored to his territory in 1477 by the assistance of Giovanni Bentivoglio, espoused Francesca, the daughter of his benefactor. The jealous temper of Francesca embittered her own and her husband's life, and she resolved to avenge her real or imaginary wrongs by the deliberate murder of her wronger. Having concealed four assassins in her chamber, she counterfeited sickness, and requested a visit from her husband; and whilst Galeotto endeavoured to protect himself from the ruffians, she herself inflicted a mortal wound. To avert the consequences of this foul crime, she fled with her son Astorre into the castle; and her father soon arrived with a band of troops, for the rescue of his sanguinary daughter. But in an attempt upon the town he was gallantly resisted by the people, who rose in a body against him; and he was seized and sent prisoner to Modigliana.

[11] Murat. Ann. 1488.—Bayle is very elaborate upon a most disgusting speech and action of the Countess. (art. Sforza.)—For a vindication of Lorenzo de' Medici from participation in this murder, see Roscoe, vol. II. p. 166.

Bentivoglio, however, possessed too powerful friends to remain long in jeopardy. The King of Naples and the Duke of Milan became his advocates, and Lorenzo de' Medici easily procured his liberation. The young Astorre Manfredi was proclaimed Lord of Faenza; and, by the interference of Lorenzo, the blood-stained Francesca was permitted to join her father in Bologna.[12]

The power and influence of the "Magnificent" Lorenzo had now attained their zenith. In Florence he was no longer regarded as a citizen, but as a prince; and Neri Cambi, the Gonfalonier of Justice, who had admonished some inferior officers without consulting Lorenzo (then absent in Pisa), was treated as a malefactor and fined for his presumption.[13] From Ferdinand, King of Naples, he received the warmest expressions of friendship and even gratitude;[14] and Innocent VIII. sought to secure his favour by the alliance of their children. Madalena, the daughter of Lorenzo and Clarice Orsini, was given in marriage to Franceschetto Cibo, natural son of the Pope; who by this union converted the hostile family of Orsini into friends and supporters.[15] By an extraordinary stretch of esteem, Innocent consented to advance Giovanni, Lorenzo's second son, scarcely thirteen years of age, to the dignity of cardinal; an instance of premature elevation, which had never before disgraced

1488.

[12] Muratori.—Sismondi, tom. XI. p. 314.—Roscoe, vol. II. p. 170.

[13] Sismondi, tom. XI. p. 346, upon the authority of Ammirato, and Cambi, one of the Gonfaloniers.—Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. I. p. 513.

[14] Roscoe, Appendix, No. 48. [15] Sismondi, tom. XI. p. 283.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

the Church.[16] The influence of Lorenzo was more beneficially exerted for the preservation of the peace of Italy. Not only had the King of Naples violated his treaty by the execrable murder of his barons, but he now refused to make good the tribute which he had bound himself to pay to the
1489. Pope. Indignant at this contemptuous treatment, Innocent thundered forth the sentence of excommunication; and was preparing to attack his contumacious vassal, when the milder counsels of Lorenzo soothed his just resentment. By his persuasion, the King once more consented to submit to the stipulated tribute; and the Pope was too happy to avoid a war by revoking the censures of the Church.[17]

Hitherto we have beheld the Roman pontiffs exerting themselves, with more or less vigour, in order to repress the encroachments of the Turks. The Venetians had incurred no small scandal by their intimate connexion with the infidel powers; yet their delinquency shrinks to nothing when we find the Sultaun of Constantinople admitted to negotiate with the head of Christ's Church. In the struggle for the throne of Mahomed II., his younger son Zizim was overpowered by his brother Bajazet, and sought, in the island of Rhodes, the protection of the Knights of St. John. After a variety of negotiations Innocent VIII. obtained from the Grand Master of the order, with the sanction of Charles

[16] Roscoe, Appendix, No. 66.

[17] Murat. Ann. 1489.—Roscoe, p. 35.—Giannone, Lib. XXVIII. c. 1.

VIII. King of France, a promise to deliver up into his hands the captive prince, who was accordingly brought to Rome and received with great distinction. The presence of this extraordinary visitor in the capital of Christendom was accounted for by Innocent on the score of advantages to be reaped, in an expedition against Bajazet, from the countenance and co-operation of his brother and rival. But this flimsy pretext covered a shameful bargain. The Sultan, after an unsuccessful attempt on the life of his brother, had despatched an ambassador to Rome with offers too tempting to be resisted; and Innocent undertook to hold Zizim in restraint for the annual remuneration of forty thousand ducats.[18]

1489.

Whilst Italy was thus blessed with such unusual tranquillity, the public happiness was endangered by the premature death of Lorenzo de' Medici, at the age of forty-four, on the 7th of April, 1492. The ills of a debilitated frame might have baffled the utmost power of medical ability; but the end of Lorenzo was probably accelerated by the ignorant and ill-timed adulation of his physician. The genial herbs, so kindly provided by nature, were deemed unworthy the magnificent Lorenzo, and costly decoctions of pearls and precious substances were administered in lieu of salutary juices.[19] The heaviest charge which rests on his memory (and as a public man no charge can be greater), is the

Death of Lorenzo de' Medici. 1492.

[18] Murat. Ann. 1490.—Paulus Jovius, Lib. II. p. 25. folio, Paris, 1553. Roscoe, vol. II. 232.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

vast and unwarrantable change he effected in the Florentine government, so utterly at variance with the established constitution, and so exclusively favourable to himself and his party. Though many evils existed under the old system, it yet produced this one beneficial result, that every industrious citizen became interested in the welfare of the state, by being eligible to share the honours of the Republic, and enjoy the sweets of power. The institution of the Seventy destroyed this advantage. The Gonfalonier and Priors were reduced to impotent puppets, and could only speak and move as the great dictator and his council directed. The amiable character of Lorenzo prevented his fellow-citizens from feeling the evil of the change during his lifetime; but the future happiness of the Florentines were left dependent on the character of his successor. In his private life Lorenzo de' Medici appears with incomparable splendour. His affectionate disposition surrounded him with friends; his liberality nourished the literature of Greece and Rome, and encouraged the cultivation of his native language;[20] whilst the pursuits of architecture, painting, and sculpture adorned his capital, and provoked the emulation of Europe. By every lover of genius, taste, and refinement, the memory of this great man must be sincerely venerated; and the citizens of Florence still behold in the Italian Athens

[20] Mr. Roscoe (vol. I. p. 239.) has corrected a prevalent mistake, that the Italian language continued its uninterrupted improvement after the writings of Petrarca and Boccaccio.

the proud memorials of the elegant destroyer of their freedom. CHAPTER XXXIII.

From the tomb of Lorenzo we may hurry past that of Innocent VIII., who survived only a few weeks. His character, if adorned with no brilliant qualities, is unstained by any enormous vice; and the death of the feeble old man must be regarded as a public calamity, since it admitted to the throne one of the most detestable of the human race. On the 11th of August, Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia, chancellor of the Church of Rome, was declared to be the new pontiff, having triumphed over his opponent, Giuliano della Rovere, Cardinal of St. Peter *ad vincula*. Borgia was a native of Valentia in Spain, the son of Geffrey Lençol and Isabella Borgia, sister of Calixtus III.[21] He assumed the title of Alexander VI., was crowned with more than usual splendour, and received the acknowledgments of the principal Christian princes. The well-known vehemence of his temper struck terrour into his enemies; and Cardinal Giuliano deemed it prudent to retire to Ostia, and afterwards into France. Alexander VI. 1492-1503.

Nothing can more plainly demonstrate the corruption of the sacred college than the choice of such a man as Borgia. Though a priest and cardinal, he openly cohabited with Vanozia, a celebrated courtesan; and four children, the offspring of his illicit love, were eagerly promoted in the outset of his reign. For Juan, the eldest, he obtained the dutchy of Gandia in Spain; Cæsar, the

[21] Mariana, Lib. XXVI. c. 2.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

second, he created cardinal; his daughter, Lucretia, he gave in marriage to Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro; and for Geffrey, his youngest son, he demanded the hand of Sancia, natural daughter of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria. But the court of Naples for a time declined this alliance, and the disappointed Pope harboured the bitterest resentment. The crooked policy of Lodovico Sforza speedily held forth to him the prospect of gratifying his vengeance.

Though Lodovico had with some plausibility assumed the reins during the minority of his nephew, the mature age of Gian-Galeazzo now deprived him of an excuse for retaining the ducal authority. In vain did the prince demand his rights; and his young dutchess, Isabella of Naples, daughter of Alfonso, anxiously implored her father and King Ferdinand to wrest the government from the hands of the usurper. But though desirous of assisting his son-in-law, Alfonso had hitherto seen the prudence of avoiding a rupture with Lodovico, and stood too much in awe of the power and rapacity of Venice to dissolve the league set on foot by Lorenzo between Florence, Naples, and Milan. After the death of Lorenzo the good understanding he had so carefully maintained with Lodovico was endangered by the indiscretion of his son, Piero, who succeeded to his authority in Florence, and appeared entirely devoted to the Neapolitan princes. Sforza well perceived his danger in this coalition, and accordingly changed his policy, by entering

CHAPTER XXXIII.

into a league with Venice and the Pope, the avowed enemies of Ferdinand. As the further means of shielding himself from his adversaries, he resolved to strike a blow upon Naples itself, by once more reviving the claims of the house of Anjou, and inciting Charles VIII. King of France to enforce his rights by immediate invasion of the kingdom.[22]

League of the Pope, Venice, and Milan against Naples. 1493.

Such was the political state of Italy at the close of the fifteenth century. The mild and prudent counsels of Lorenzo were withdrawn, and the dark and intriguing spirits of Borgia and Sforza were brought into collision. The peace so happily restored was irreparably broken; and the country was henceforward laid open to a series of foreign incursions, which involved the Italians in innumerable distresses. Torn as the unhappy land had been by the tumultuous excesses of her own sons, she had hitherto escaped a foreign yoke; and though the armies of Germany and France had occasionally molested her territories, the intruders had been unable to accomplish a permanent footing.

General view of Italy.

At the moment when the gathering storm was ready to burst upon her, Italy had attained the highest degree of prosperity. The country, portioned out among the several states, presented a healthy and improving aspect.[23] Agriculture formed the employment of great part of the inhabitants;

Agriculture.

[22] Comines, Liv. VII. c. 3.—Guicciardini, Lib. I. tom. I. p. 22.—Murat. Ann. 1493.

[23] Denina (Lib. XI. c. 7. and note 1.) concludes from the number of castles still existing in Tuscany, that many parts of the country, at present most unhealthy, were in those days populous and well-cultivated.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

nor was this occupation confined to the rustics alone. Every city possessed an ample tract of lands which were cultivated by the citizens, who in time of peace issued from the gates to their daily labour, and returned again with the evening to the security of their walls.[24] A larger portion of citizens were diligently engaged in the lucrative pursuits of

Commerce.

trade and commerce, the profitable business of exchange with distant countries, and the hazardous negotiation of foreign loans.[25] The Italian manufactures were in request in the East as well as in Europe. The brilliant glass and splendid mirrors of Venice,[26] the glossy silks of Bologna and Modena,[27] the gold and silver tissues and rich clothes of Florence, found a market in every civilized country, and the gallies of Italy returned laden with the produce and treasure of Arabia and India.[28]

The Arts.

In the fine arts, Italy had far outstripped her neighbours. The increase of population swelled the limits of a narrow town into an extensive and beautiful city; the mean and lowly hut was expanded into a commodious habitation; and archi-

[24] Sismondi, tom. XII. p. 40.

[25] Pignotti, tom. VII. Del commercio dei Toscani. p. 168.

[26] These looking-glasses superseded the use of metal mirrors, which was general in Europe until the 15th century. Daru, Liv. XIX. tom. p. 158. That chapter of Count Daru is a minute and most valuable essay upon Venetian commerce, &c.

[27] In 1327 the Modenese made a law enjoining the planting of fig, mulberry, and other trees, whose leaves were fit for silk-worms; and they appear to have imitated the Bolognese in constructing buildings for twisting and weaving *per torcere ed orsoiare* the silk. Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XXX.

[28] Pignotti, ub. sup.

tecture, no longer confined to the service of religion, was employed on the stately palaces of private individuals. The massive fabrics of Venice had begun to rear their heads as early as the tenth century; the noble Duomo of Pisa was commenced almost as early; in the fifteenth century, the labours of Brunelleschi were engaged in adorning his native Florence; and Bramante had already distinguished himself by his versatile powers.[29] Painting was rapidly advancing to perfection; sculpture once more displayed her beautiful forms; and the mighty genius now burst forth, which after raising the stupendous cathedral, could dye its walls with matchless designs, and adorn its shrines with magnificent statues.[30]

Literature.

In letters, this favoured country stood also pre-eminent. The Greek and Latin tongues were studied with diligence and success; and Manutio, the venerable progenitor of the Aldi, availing himself of the invention of the German press, at once restored and perpetuated the glorious remains of antiquity. The native idiom of Tuscany, which after Boccaccio had relapsed into corruption, as-

[29] St. Mark's at Venice was begun about 980. The Duomo of Pisa in 1063. That of Florence in 1298.—Boccaccio (Decam. Introd.) describes Florence as possessing in 1348 "gran palagj, belle case, nobili abituri di famiglie pieni."—Even as early as Dante (Paradiso, c. XV. v. 110.) that city surpassed Rome in its buildings; which it might easily do, as the splendour of *modern* Rome can scarcely be said to have originated before the fifteenth century. Enough however still remained of the ancient city to stimulate the genius of Brunelleschi. Vasari, Vite de' Pittori, tom. IV. p. 209. Milano, 1808.

[30] Michael Angelo was born 1474.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

sumed a settled form and ripened into elegant purity. The verses of Lorenzo de' Medici, Pulci, and Poliziano, recalled the ancient harmony;[31] and the day was now at hand when the language of Italy was to be enriched by the majestic periods of Guicciardini and the bewitching extravagancies of Ariosto.

Increase of luxury.

With the gradual progress of civilization, luxury kept more than equal pace. According to various writers, the Italians, at the end of the thirteenth century, were simple, even to rudeness, in their apparel and domestic economy. The clergy and higher nobility, indeed, were ever conspicuous for the splendour of their vestments and the costliness of their establishments; and the growth of luxury amongst the middle classes appears to have been uncommonly rapid. The national simplicity of dress was exchanged for strange and unnecessary trappings; young men, as well as women, tricked themselves out in expensively grotesque habiliments;[32] and the law was sometimes called upon to curtail this profligate profusion of superfluous drapery.[33] Into Naples the arrival of Charles of Anjou had diffused a spirit of gaudy extravagance.[34] The stern republican simplicity of Florence had already

[31] Tiraboschi, tom. VI.—Roscoe, vol. I. c. V.

[32] Murat. Antiq. Ital. Diss. XXIII.

[33] Such a law, made at Modena in 1420, is quoted by Muratori, Antiq. Ital. Diss. XXV. "Statuimus, quod aliquæ mulieres, cujuscunque conditionis existant, non possint deferre aliquas vestes quæ terram tangant, taliter quod &c."

[34] Murat. Antiq. Ital. Diss. XXIII.

been relaxed in the days of Dante; and the entry of the French and the Duke of Athens broke down the barrier.[35] About this time a general habit of indulgence and voluptuousness pervaded the cities of Italy; the gentry furnished their tables with wines and costly dishes; and the vulgar were beginning to imitate the excesses of their superiors. A writer of 1388 bewails the ruinous style of living at Placentia, which compelled many gentlemen to abandon the city, where an establishment of nine persons and two horses consumed the enormous annual sum of three hundred golden florins.[36]

Abolition of slavery.

Meanwhile a less equivocal improvement was taking place in the state of society,—the abolition of slavery. In the early period of the middle ages, this remnant of ancient Rome existed throughout Italy; and the slave and his offspring were subjected to the caprice of his master, who punished his delinquencies, seized upon his earnings, and wantonly disposed of his person and his family. In this unhappy condition there was little to alleviate his sufferings, save the distant hope that a long series of faithful services might at last be crowned with the extraordinary boon of manumission. But this system of slavery was not without inconvenience to the master. The slave, purchased at great cost, might die, or become useless by disease; or he might escape. The question of slave, or no slave, might harass the owner with vexatious litiga-

[35] Paradiso, c. XV. v. 112.—Giov. Villani, Lib. XII. c. 4.

[36] Murat. Antiq. Ital. Diss. XXIII.—Amongst other instances of *luxury*, he mentions the use of chimnies. The whole account is extremely curious.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

tion. The intermarriage of the slaves of different owners raised a new difficulty, by either separating the husband and wife, or causing desertion. These disadvantages gradually brought slavery into disrepute in Italy, as well as in Germany;[37] and, in the former country, the erection of cities into republics, and the various wars they carried on, completed its downfal. The slaves became less manageable; escape became more easy; and the fugitive found a ready asylum within the walls of a rival republic. The want of soldiers often rendered manumission expedient; for the ancient prejudice prevailed, which forbad a slave to mingle in the noble business of war. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, therefore, Italian slavery had progressively declined, and before the termination of the fourteenth it completely disappeared.[38]

Alteration in warfare.

Great alterations also took place in the system of Italian warfare. The increasing occupation of the citizens in commerce was a bar to their taking the field in person; and a tax raised upon the community enabled the city to keep on foot a band of mercenaries. But instead of the lawless foreigners who had once infested the country, the troops of the Condottieri were entirely composed of Italian soldiery.[39] The bands of Braccio and Sforza survived those celebrated leaders; and the Bracceschi and Sforzeschi were long conspicuous in the Italian wars. The exclusion of the ferocious strangers greatly mitigated the terrours of the battle; and

[37] Ante, p. 70. [38] Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XIV.
[39] Mat. Villani, Lib. II. c. 46.—Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. XXVI.

the bloody contest was converted into a trial of strength and dexterity. Secure in his impenetrable panoply, the warrior had little to dread from the weapon of his antagonist; and if fortune declared against him, his ransom was ready to avert any sanguinary consequences of defeat. Hence the repeated accounts of the bloodless conflicts in the fifteenth century, and of victories atchieved by the unhorsing of a knight.[40] The invention of gunpowder seems to have made, at first, little alteration in the mode of warfare; the unwieldy and ill-supplied artillery was an incumbrance to the battalions; and the heavy and slowly-loaded harquebusses were tardy and inadequate opponents to the lances of a mounted squadron. Nor had science yet been called upon to direct the fires of these "mortal engines" in the attack and defence of cities; and we are even assured that the trenches and bulwarks constructed by the Turks, during their occupation of Otranto, first initiated the Italians into the mysteries of fortification.[41]

Perfidy and assassination.

Amidst the rapid advance of Italy in literature and art we must still continue to lament the utter neglect of the laws of probity and honour. Unchecked by the growth of civilization, crimes of the darkest dye were of unceasing occurrence; and the fierce passions of the Italians acknowledged no restraint from religion or public opinion. The people received their religion upon trust from the clergy, whose scandalous lives too often exposed

[40] Denina, Lib. XVIII. c. 3. [41] Guicciardini, Lib. XV. tom. VI. p. 62.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

them to contempt and ridicule. The sublime and humanizing doctrines of Christianity were sealed up from the community; and piety was exhausted in fanatical processions and "superstitious vanities."[42] The greedy reception of absurd legends, and the blind adoration of pretended reliques, were mistaken for faith and devotion; and the worship of the great Creator himself was forgotten in perpetual recurrence to equivocal saints and martyrs. Nor had treachery and guilt to dread the upbraiding voice of public reprobation. The *failure* of a perfidious enterprise was alone disgraceful, while successful villainy commanded admiration, and sometimes extorted applause.[43] Hence the flagrant acts of perfidy and injustice which disgrace the Italian annals; the pernicious maxims which influenced the policy of states; and the diabolical assassinations which glutted the vengeance, or advanced the interest, of individuals. No tie of kindred, friendship, or hospitality could preserve the devoted victim; and the murderer might defy the law whilst the Church proffered him a sanctuary. The stiletto[44] was ready for every bosom; and the sudden or lingering destruction by poison was matter of science and refinement.[45]

[42] Giov. Villani, Lib. VIII. c. 121.—The Bianchi, who appeared in 1399, were respectable fanatics. Sismondi, chap. LVI. tom. VII. p. 398.

[43] Gli uomini grandi chiamano vergogna il perdere, non con inganno acquistare. Machiav. Ist. Fior. Lib. VI. p. 303.

[44] The stiletto became an object of commerce; there was a manufactory at Brescia. Daru, tom. VI. p. 101.

[45] Murat. Antiq Ital. Dissert. XXIII.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

REIGN OF MAXIMILIAN.—EXPEDITION OF CHARLES VIII. KING OF FRANCE INTO ITALY.

MAXIMILIAN, King of the Romans, was undisputed sovereign of the Empire on the death of his father Frederic III. In addition to the imperial dominions and the extensive territory he claimed in right of his deceased wife Mary of Burgundy, this prince at his accession united in himself all the estates of his family. Carinthia, which had been granted by Rodolph I. to Mainard Count of Tyrol, again reverted to Austria in 1363 by the death of his great-grandson Mainard, son of Lewis of Bavaria and Margaret Maultasche. The Tyrol, which Margaret Maultasche transferred to Albert III. Duke of Austria after the death of her son Mainard (who married Margaret, sister of Albert), and which in the partition of 1411 was assigned to Frederic IV.,[1] descended on his death in 1439 to his son Sigismund, who in 1492 surrendered it to his cousin Maximilian.[2] But the tranquil enjoyment of these vast territories was scarcely to be hoped for; and

[1] Ante, p. 88. note.

[2] Art de vérifier les Dates tom. III. pp. 575. 579. 583. See Appendix, Tables XXIV. XXVII.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

in the very outset of his reign Maximilian was called into the Netherlands by the efforts of Charles d'Egmont to regain the dutchy of Gueldres, which his grand-father Arnold had ceded to Charles, Duke of Burgundy. Notwithstanding the award of the four Rhenish Electors against the claims of Charles, he continued to support his pretension by arms; and Maximilian consigned the contest and the regency of the Netherlands to his son, whom the people were content to tolerate as heir of the house of Burgundy.[3]

Philip, Regent of the Netherlands. 1493.

All eyes were now turned towards Italy, where the ambitious Lodovico Sforza was preparing new scenes of contention, and by a short-sighted policy inviting an enemy across the Alps, who was destined to accomplish his own destruction. In order to secure the ducal crown of Milan he was intent on depressing the power of Naples, now ready to arm in vindication of the rights of his sequestered nephew Gian-Galeazzo-Maria. He therefore sent a splendid embassy into France, exhorting the young king Charles VIII. to make good the claims of the house of Anjou to the Neapolitan throne.[4] He purchased the favour of the King of the Romans, by giving him in marriage his niece Bianca-Maria, with a dowry of five hundred thousand ducats, to the great indignation of the German states, who looked with disdain on the upstart race of Sforza. But the dowry was a weighty argument with the indigent Maximilian; and Lodovico obtained the

[3] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 60.

[4] Comines, Liv. VII. c. 3.

investiture of the dutchy in defiance of the lawful claims of the young Duke, and the murmurs of the German Princes.

Lodovico Sforza (the Moor) invested with Milan. 1494.

Charles VIII. readily listened to the representations of the Milanese ambassadors, who found little difficulty in persuading him of the strength of his title to the crown of Naples, and the invalidity of the title of the house of Aragon. That title rested upon descent, adoption, conquest, inheritance, and possession. Ferdinand I., who now sat upon the throne, was the lineal descendant of Frederic II. His father Alfonso V. had been adopted by Johanna II. in 1420, and had successfully asserted his pretensions by the sword. But Ferdinand was neither the eldest, nor the legitimate, son of his father: and though his brother John, King of Navarre, did not oppose his claim to Naples as the bequest of his father, his illegitimate birth furnished a plausible pretence for disputing his succession. The title of the King of France was derived from Charles I. who had been invested with the crown of Naples by Pope Clement IV.; from Louis I. Duke of Anjou, who had been adopted in 1380 by Johanna I.; from Louis III., who had been adopted by Johanna II. in 1423; and from his brother René I. to whom that queen had bequeathed the kingdom. The adoption of Louis I. by the first Johanna had been compromised by the adoption of Louis III.; and even this last adoption was preceded by that of the father of Ferdinand. As Louis III. died in the lifetime of Johanna II., she bequeathed the crown to

Title of Charles VIII. to the crown of Naples.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

René I., who survived his son and grandson, John and Nicholas, and passing over René II. the son of his daughter Yolande bequeathed the kingdom of Naples to his nephew Charles, Count of Maine. Charles, by his will consigned the right to Naples to Louis XI. the father of Charles VIII. The feeble René II. seems to have been content to relinquish his claim; and after the year 1485 tacitly acquiesced in the pretensions of Charles to Naples, as well as to Anjou and Provence.[5]

Notwithstanding the avidity with which Charles VIII. was ready to grasp at the prize, he resolved in the first place to sound the powers of Italy, and secretly sent ambassadors to Venice, Florence, and the Pope. The politic Venetians excused themselves from active co-operation under pretence of their contest with the Turk. Piero de' Medici, now in strict alliance with Naples, returned an evasive answer. The Pope, Alexander VI., though at first inclined to favour the invasion, was soon induced to change his views from private motives; for Ferdinand, alarmed at the rumours which threatened his kingdom, resolved to conciliate the pontiff, though in his heart he cordially abhorred him. He, therefore, retracted his refusal to unite his granddaughter with Alexander's son Geffrey; and Alexander caught eagerly at his tardy acquiescence. The marriage between Geffrey and Sancia was immediately agreed upon; and as the bridegroom was

[5] Philip de Comines, Liv. VII. c. 1.—And see an elaborate dissertation on the respective titles in Gibbon's Miscell. Works, vol. III. p. 206.

still too young for its consummation, it was settled that he should be sent to reside at the court of Naples.

The want of encouragement from the Italian states increased the distraction of Charles between the calls of ambition and the dictates of prudence. He burned for the conquest of Naples, and persuaded himself that the possession of that country would enable him to expel the Turks from Europe, and even to recover the lost kingdom of Jerusalem. At this juncture, the aged and iniquitous Ferdinand was cut off, and his son, Alfonso II. was crowned King of Naples. The celebration of the preconcerted marriage between Geffrey Borgia and the princess now redoubled the zeal of the Pope in preventing any aggression upon the Neapolitan territory. He published a brief, by which he threatened Charles with the heaviest censures of the Church in case he ventured to cross the Alps; he endeavoured to bring Venice and Spain into his views; and he authorized Alfonso to appropriate for his defence a large accumulation of money, which had been collected, under the auspices of former Popes, for the suppression of the Turkish power. Nor was it from the Christians alone that he sought assistance. That the King of Naples should have called for the aid of the Sultan Bajazet II. against the French invader may be easily credited;[6] but that the Mahomedan prince should have been stirred up against a Christian monarch

Death of Ferdinand, King of Naples. Alfonso II. King.

[6] That he did so, is attested by Guicciardini (Lib. I. p. 67.), Paulus Jovius (Lib. I. p. 12.), and Philip de Comines (Liv. VII. c. 5.)

CHAPTER XXXIV.

by the head of the Church of Christ almost exceeds belief. Yet a remarkable correspondence is still extant, which proves beyond a doubt the infamous negotiation of Alexander. The Pope despatched an emissary, named Bozzardo, to Constantinople, who was charged to persuade Bajazet that the main object of Charles in invading Italy was to gain possession of the Sultan's brother Zizim, and then to attack the Eastern Empire. Bozzardo was further instructed to press for the payment of forty thousand ducats, the sum annually due for the Pope's detention of Zizim; to exhort the Sultan to send a messenger to Venice to arouse the lukewarm republick; and to spare no expressions of cordiality and regard on the part of his holiness towards the Turkish sovereign. In return for this confidence Bajazet requested two favours; the one, that his brother might be forthwith removed from the troubles of this life; the other, that Alexander would bestow a cardinal's hat on a priest who was a favourite at the Porte. The faithful Bozzardo returned to Italy accompanied by an ambassador from the Sultan, charged with the sum required and the letters of Bajazet. But neither money nor letters ever reached their destination. The ship which conveyed them was seized near Ancona by Giovanni della Rovere, brother of the Cardinal Giuliano, who finding upon Bozzardo the instructions of Alexander and the letters of his infidel correspondent, caused them to be translated, and verified by an apostolic notary.[7]

[7] Paulus Jovius, Lib. II. p. 25.—And see the instructions and letters them-

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Charles, who had already proceeded as far as Vienne in Dauphiny, was staggered by the denunciations of Alexander, and the little encouragement he received from Venice and Florence. But his wavering spirit was decided by the fervent exhortations of Cardinal Giulano della Rovere. That impetuous enemy of the Pope left no topic untouched which might influence the French monarch: he represented in glowing colours the glory to be reaped by the expedition, and the disgrace of abandoning the enterprise; he reduced every difficulty and heightened every advantage, and easily reconciled the King to follow his own ardent desires. All thoughts of retreat were abandoned; and fired by the martial spirit of the cardinal, Charles commanded his army to march for the Alps.[8] Tradition had pointed out the Mont Cenis as the passage by which Hannibal entered Italy; willing to avoid the disasters of the Carthaginian, Charles selected the pass of Mont Genevre[9] for his route; and having

23d August. 1494.

Charles VIII. crosses the Alps.

selves printed among the "Preuves" of the memoirs of Comines, tom. IV. pt. 2. p. 47. edit. 1747.—The Sultan is so complaisant as to date his letters, not according to the Hejra but, the christian era; and he assures the Pope that he was sworn to keep his compact upon the gospel, super evangelia vestra. The margin indeed suggests *nostra*: but evangelia can hardly be meant for the Koran.

[8] He borrowed, before he started, 50,000 ducats of a merchant at Milan, without interest, and 100,000 francs of the bank of *Soly* (Sauli) of Genoa at 100 *per cent.*; and in the course of his journey, his money failing, he put the ladies under contribution by borrowing their jewels, which he pawned for 24,000 ducats. Comines, Liv. VII. Propn. and ch. V. VI. Brantome, Eloge du Roi Charles VIII. "Et pouvez voir (says Philippe) quel commencement de guerre c'estoit, si Dieu n'eut guidé l'œuvre."

[9] Paul. Jov. Lib. I. p. 17.—Guicciardini, Lib. I. p. 84. That Hannibal did *not* pass Mt. Cenis has been abundantly proved by Dr. Cramer in his interesting "Dissertation" upon this subject.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

surmounted the difficulties of the march, descended with his army into the plain of Italy, and on the 9th of September, 1494 halted at Asti. Meanwhile, says the gravest of historians, the most unheard of prodigies warned the unhappy Italians of their approaching calamities. Monstrous births occurred; the statues of the saints and martyrs burst out into cold sweats; three suns were visible in Apulia by night; and in Arezzo for several days bands of unearthly warriors were seen marching through the heavens, armed at all points and mounted on gigantic steeds, amidst the terrific roar of supernatural drums and trumpets.[10]

Before Charles commenced his passage across the Alps, he had sent his cousin, Louis, Duke of Orleans, by sea to Genoa, for the purpose of collecting and organizing his naval forces. Though Genoa had withdrawn herself from the dominion of France, the Italians had reason to curse the policy which induced the Genoese to place themselves in connexion with such a dangerous neighbour; and the designs of Charles were doubtless greatly confirmed by the possession of so valuable an ally. The efforts of the king of Naples to gain possession of this important state were ineffectual, and the French succeeded on two occasions in driving the Neapolitans from the Ligurian shore. A body of Swiss and Italian mercenaries under d'Aubigny was also in arms in Romagna; and Ferdinand, Duke of Calabria, who had been sent to meet them, deemed it prudent to avoid an engagement, and retired un-

[10] Guicciardini, Lib. I. p. 80.

der the walls of Faenza, there to await the motions of the approaching foe.[11]

Charles no sooner arrived at Asti than he was visited by Lodovico Sforza and his wife Beatrice of Este, together with her father Hercules, Duke of Ferrara. The wary Philip de Comines was despatched hence to Venice, with a view to secure the alliance of the Republic. After suffering some days' detention by an attack of the small pox, the King proceeded to Pavia, and was received by Lodovico with royal state. Compassion, or curiosity, led him to visit his youthful kinsman, Gian-Galeazzo, Duke of Milan, who then languished in hopeless disease. From Pavia, Charles, accompanied by Lodovico, advanced to Placentia, where they were overtaken by the intelligence of the young Duke's death. Lodovico immediately hastened to Milan, and in virtue of the imperial investiture assumed the title and ensigns of sovereignty. The relatives of the widowed dutchess in Naples were too much engaged in preparing for Charles to make a struggle in her behalf; and the unhappy princess and her infant children were immured in the castle of Pavia. But Lodovico did not escape suspicion of having hastened the young Duke's death; and an universal opinion prevailed that he had fallen the victim of poison. Even Charles, who shewed little sympathy for his unfortunate cousin, grew distrustful of the arts of Lodovico; and his selfish fears were excited even to the thought of retreating into France.

Death of Gian-Galeazzo, Duke of Milan.

[11] Paul. Jov. Lib. I. tom. I. p. 17.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Had Florence possessed anything like unanimity or firmness, this was the favourable moment openly to declare against France. But unfortunately the spirit of distraction was in full force among the Florentines; and after the death of Lorenzo de' Medici, the imbecility of his son Piero was little adapted to gain the respect of his fellow-citizens. A strong party was by degrees formed against Piero and his brothers the Cardinal Giovanni and Giuliano; and even the members of their own family rose in jealous indignation against them. The name of his ancestors still enabled the feeble Piero to procure the banishment of his adversaries from Florence. But the approach of Charles now threw him into the greatest perplexity. From the first moment the King's intention of invading Italy had been declared, he had endeavoured to avert the hostility of the French; whilst his alliance with the King of Naples and his dread of the Neapolitan arms prevented his declaring himself the friend of France. On the other hand, the enemies of Piero were delighted by the French invasion; and whilst King Charles hesitated at Placentia, his resolution was fixed by the arrival of the Florentine exiles. When he entered the territory of the republic, he found Sarzana and other strong places prepared to oppose his progress; and he had already taken measures for their reduction, when an extraordinary resolution of Piero de' Medici at once delivered him from his difficulties. The timid son of the magnificent Lorenzo repaired to the French

camp before Sarzana, and purchased the favour of Charles by delivering that fortress into his possession. He further consented to cede Pisa, Leghorn, and Pietrasanta to the French, upon condition that they should be restored, when Charles should have completed the conquest of Naples. After this ignominious cession, Piero returned to Florence; but his indignant countrymen saluted him with execrations; and he was compelled to abandon the city, and fled, together with his exiled brothers, for safety to Bologna.[12] On that same day, Pisa, availing herself of the presence of Charles, broke out into rebellion from the yoke of Florence, and extorted from the French king his sanction of her recovered liberty. Thus about the same hour, the ensigns of the Medici were suppressed in Florence, and the lion, which represented the Florentine power in Pisa, was hurled into the Arno by the exulting Pisans.

The Medici driven from Florence.

Pisa revolts from Florence.

From Pisa Charles marched to Florence, where he was greeted with every possible respect. This harmony, however, was endangered by the intimation that the King was contriving the re-instatement of the Medici; and the Florentines loudly expressed their determination to oppose all interference with their liberties and internal government. Charles, therefore, prudently soothed the growing irritation; peace was confirmed upon terms which

11th Nov. 1494.

[12] Paul. Jov. Lib. I. p. 19.—Philip de Comines, Liv. VII. c. 9.—Roscoe's Leo X. vol. I. p. 185.—Guicciardini, Lib. I. p. 109. The other branches of the Medici suppressed the family name and called themselves *Popolani*.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

again abandoned Pisa to her former masters; and the King quitted the city with the title of Restorer and Protector of the liberties of Florence. Thence he proceeded to Siena; and became master, without opposition, of Viterbo and other cities belonging to the Church.

28th Nov.

The near approach of Charles to Rome filled Pope Alexander with the keenest apprehensions. At one moment he felt inclined to renounce his alliance with Alfonso and throw himself into the arms of the French. But he soon changed his counsels; and encouraged by the presence of the duke of Calabria, who with his army had entered Rome, he resolved to oppose the progress of Charles, and even ventured to seize the French emissaries who were sent to negotiate for the admission of their master. But as Charles drew nearer the panic of the Pope increased, and he prevailed on Ferdinand to abandon Rome and retreat towards Naples. On the last day of the year 1494 the Neapolitan army departed by the Gate of St. Sebastian; and on the same evening the King of France and his army entered Rome by the Porta del Popolo. Distrustful of the event, Alexander retired into the Castle of St. Angelo, and there shut himself up to await the result of the French operations.[13]

Charles VIII. enters Rome. 31st Dec. 1494.

A contemporary historian has transmitted to us an animated account of the entry of the French into Rome; and as this throws a light upon the

[13] Guicciardini, Lib. I. p. 125.

military discipline of the fifteenth century, I shall here insert the most material features of the description of the bishop of Nocera. First marched a numerous body of Swiss and Germans, keeping time to the beat of their drums, and preserving admirable order under their respective banners. Their dresses were parti-coloured, short, and fashioned to display the proportion of their limbs; and their chiefs were distinguished by the lofty plumes which arose from the crests of their helmets. The greater number were armed with short swords, and oaken spears ten feet long with slender points of iron. The fourth part bore large axes, or halberds with square heads which they wielded in battle with both hands, either striking or thrusting. Every corps of a thousand men was attended by a company of an hundred armed with harquebusses for the discharge of bullets. Only the centurions and those who occupied the foremost ranks were protected by helmets and breast-plates; the generality of the soldiers were without defensive armour. Five thousand Gascons next followed, for the most part archers, with iron cross-bows, in the use of which they were exceedingly skilful: but these had a rude and mean appearance after the tall statures and gallant equipments of the Swiss.[14] The cavalry, composed of the French nobility and conspicuous for their silken cloaks, their lofty crests, and their

His army.

The Infantry.

The Cavalry.

[14] How shall we reconcile this with the words of Machiavelli? who describes the Swiss as "piccoli, e non puliti, nè belli personagi." Ritratti dell' Alamagna, Opere, tom. II. p. 154.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

golden chains, followed the foot in a long succession of troops and squadrons. Two thousand five hundred were armed with heavy cuirasses; and twice as many wore lighter armour. They carried fluted spears of extraordinary size surmounted with massive heads of iron. Their horses were of great power and magnitude, having their ears and manes cropped, but wanting the leathern housings of the Italian fashion. Each cuirassier was provided with three horses, a youth as his squire, and two subsidiary yeomen.[15] The light cavalry, protected only by a helmet and breast-plate, were armed with large bows and arrows, according to the manner of the English. Some carried javelins, which they used to transfix such of the enemy as were overthrown in battle by the heavy horse. All wore cloaks embroidered with silver, each bearing a particular device, so that the valour or cowardice of the wearer could be immediately recognized in the conflict. Four hundred archers on horseback accompanied the King, of whom one hundred were Scotch, selected for their birth, valour, and fidelity. These were preceded by two hundred French knights of noble birth and acknowledged bravery, carrying on their shoulders heavy iron maces, and splendidly attired in gold and purple, who waited about the King when he dismounted, and when he rode were seated on powerful horses like those of the cuirassiers. Charles was accompanied by the Cardinals Ascanio Sforza

[15] The man at-arms and his attendants were all included under the term *Lance*. Ante, vol. i. p. 517. note.

and Giuliano della Rovere; behind these came the Cardinals Colonna and Savelli; whilst Prospero and Fabrizio Colonna and other Italian leaders mingled with the French commanders. The Romans beheld the cavalcade with fear and admiration: but what chiefly struck them were the thirty-six brass cannons mounted on carriages drawn by horses, which passed with almost equal facility over plain and rough places. Their greatest length was eight feet; their weight six thousand pounds; and they were capable of discharging a ball of iron of the bigness of a man's head. After the cannon came the culverins, half as long again, but of smaller caliber. Last came the falcons, some less, some greater, the least of which could launch forth a ball the size of a citron. All these pieces of artillery were mounted on carriages constructed of two thick beams, into which their trunnions were inserted; and they were poised so as to be raised or depressed, the better to direct their aim. The smaller had two wheels; the larger four, but of these two could be removed at pleasure when the guns were not required to be set in motion. The drivers had such command over the horses by their whips and voices, that on level ground the speed of the artillery was not inferior to that of the cavalry.[16]

The Artillery.

[16] Paulus Jovius, Lib. II. pp. 23. 24. Brantome is particularly delighted with Charles's military appearance and swaggering deportment in Rome; —allez-moi trouver jamais Roy de France qui ayt jamais fait de ces coups, fors que Charlemagne, &c.—Vies des hommes illustres, Disc. I. Œuvre tom. V. p. 6.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

1495.

Incited by the cardinals, who were the personal enemies of Alexander, Charles more than once pointed these destructive engines against the Castle of St. Angelo. But more pacific councils prevailed, and an amnesty was concluded between the King and the Pontiff, by which it was agreed that Cardinal Borgia should accompany the King and remain with him for four months; that Zizim, the brother of the Turk, should be delivered to Charles, to be by him kept during his sojourn in Italy; and that Civita Vecchia should for the present be surrendered to the King for the purpose of receiving his stores and other necessaries.[17] These preliminaries being adjusted, Alexander emerged from his strong hold and received Charles in St. Peter's, where the accustomed ceremonies of adoration and benediction were celebrated. Charles lingered nearly a month in Rome, whilst Fabrizio Colonna entered the Neapolitan territory, and seized some places in his name. The disturbed state of the kingdom was highly favourable to his enterprise: Aquila and great part of the Abruzzi voluntarily hoisted his standard; and so great was the hatred of the people towards the house of Aragon that the whole kingdom seemed ready to revolt.

[17] See the original treaty in "Observations sur les lettres de Rabelais, Œuvres, tom. III. p. 40. edit. Amsterdam, 1741.—and the substance stated in Guicciardini, Lib. I. p. 126. and Comines, Liv. VII. c. 15.—The former adds the surrender of Terracina and Spoleto; and the latter, Viterbo; but the treaty contains no particular mention of these places, except that Zizime (Zizim) may be kept in the fort of Terracina: and the 23rd article provides for the restitution of all the places belonging to the see of Rome within twelve days.

Terrified at this general disaffection, Alfonso no sooner learned that the Duke of Calabria had quitted Rome than he took the inglorious resolution of abdicating the crown and escaping from Naples. He therefore formally laid down the government in favour of Duke Ferdinand, and conveying his treasures on board four light gallies set sail from Naples, and arrived at Mazara in Sicily. The news of this pusillanimous flight reached Charles as he was quitting Rome, and he marched with all expedition to Velletri. There he was deserted by Cardinal Borgia, who left the army in disguise and returned to Rome; and shortly afterwards death deprived him of the unfortunate Zizim.[18] His advanced guard were stopped at Monte Fortino, and the French cannon were called into action. These soon compelled the castle to surrender; and a terrible example was made by the unrelenting massacre of all the inhabitants. The fortress of Monte San Giovanni experienced a severer fate; the French, not content with butchering its defenders, delivered it over to the flames; and these severe proceedings had their due effect on the Italians, unaccustomed to the terrours of a murderous war.

Alfonzo II. abdicates and flies to Sicily.

[18] Historians are not agreed either as to the place, or the cause, of this prince's death. Guicciardini and Cantemir state that he died at Naples;—Jovius, at Gaieta;—others at Terracina. According to the general opinion he was cut off by poison, which had been administered to him before he was delivered over to Charles; and the infamy of this transaction is laid upon Alexander, though the Venetians have not escaped accusation. Cantemir (Book III. c. 2. s. 10.) tells a strange and incredible story, of Bajazet's barber cutting the throat of Zizim at Naples, which is refuted by the silence of all the Italian contemporaries, who could not have been ignorant of such an atrocity, had it really taken place.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Ferdinand II. crowned King of Naples.

Meanwhile the Duke of Calabria arrived at Naples and assumed the royal crown and title. He then led his army to San Germano, which was esteemed one of the keys of the kingdom. Here his soldiers began to desert him: the approach of the French spread universal consternation, and the new King fell back upon Capua in the vain hope of making head against the invader. But every moment brought him disastrous tidings. An insurrection had broken out in Naples; and whilst Ferdinand flew thither to allay the storm, he was betrayed and deserted by his general Trivulzio. Before he could return to Capua, that city was in the hands of his enemies; and once more returning to Naples, he resolved to imitate his father's example. He, therefore, assembled the people and absolved them from their oath of allegiance; and hastily embarking with his few followers escaped to the neighbouring island of Ischia. Charles VIII. with great pomp entered Naples on the 21st of February 1495, where he found a reception his most sanguine hopes could scarcely have anticipated.[19] In addition to his regal title, he caused himself to be proclaimed Emperor of Constantinople.[20]

Ferdinand II. flies to Ischia.

Charles VIII. enters Naples.

[19] Guicciard. Lib. I. p. 139.—He places Ischia at thirty miles' distance from Naples. It is but eighteen.

[20] Daru, tom. III. p. 248. This assumption was founded on an assignment to Charles of his rights by Andrew Palæologus. After the taking of Constantinople, the brothers Thomas and Demetrius of that illustrious family were permitted by Mahomed II. to retain their dominions in the Morea until 1460. Their unnatural strife caused their ruin. Thomas after wandering through Italy died in 1464; and Demetrius died a pensioner of the Sultan at Adrianople in 1471. Thomas left two sons, Andrew and Manuel, the for-

Charles had achieved his conquest without difficulty or danger: his difficulties and dangers were now to begin. He had been invited into Italy by the Duke of Milan, had been dealt with amicably by the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Pope, and received with raptures by the Neapolitans. But no sooner did the Italian states behold him in possession of Naples than they conspired to compass his ruin. Lodovico Sforza, delivered from the dread of Alfonzo and Ferdinand, grew alarmed at the facility with which the French had overrun the country: the same fear seized on the Venetians; the Florentines murmured at Charles's favour towards Pisa; and the Pope was filled with personal apprehensions. But not in Italy alone were the enemies of Charles in motion. From his retreat in Ischia Ferdinand joined his father in Sicily;[21] and the exiled princes received promises of succour from their powerful kinsman Ferdinand II. King of Aragon. The King of the Romans was also easily induced to side with Charles's opponents. His ancient injuries were not forgotten; and he beheld the successes of Charles and his assumption of the imperial title with jealousy and alarm. To complete the danger, the Neapolitans with their

mer of whom transferred his rights to Charles. See the act of assignment in M. Foncemagne's paper printed in the 17th vol. of the Mémoires de l'Académie, p. 572.—M. Sismondi is mistaken in supposing the family was extinguished on the death of these princes (tom. X. p. 187); for Manuel left a son surviving (see Gibbon, vol. XII. p. 250)—Mr. Emerson, in his history of Modern Greece (page 143), traces the family to Plymouth; and their monument still exists in the church of Llandulph in Cornwall.

[21] Alfonzo II. died at Messina, 19th Nov. 1495.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

wonted fickleness were daily growing less satisfied with their new master: their sanguine expectations had been disappointed; and they indignantly saw Charles abandoning himself to his pleasures, instead of attending to the order and welfare of the kingdom. Apprized in some measure of his perilous situation, Charles became as anxious to retreat to France as he had formerly been to advance to Naples. He determined to withdraw for the present; and having caused himself to be crowned King of Naples with extraordinary splendour he quitted the capital on the 20th of May, leaving the kingdom in charge of his generals, d'Aubigny and Montpensier.[22]

Charles crowned King of Naples;

League against him.

The confederate powers of Europe had already begun to concert their plans of operation, and their ambassadors met at Venice in the month of April. A league was concluded between the Pope, the King of the Romans, the King of Aragon, the Venetians, and the Duke of Milan. They not only bound themselves to their mutual defence, but secretly made arrangements for wresting Naples from the hands of the French. The Spaniards were to aid Ferdinand in recovering the kingdom; the Venetians engaged to assist by attacking the maritime cities; the Duke of Milan was to intercept any new reinforcements from France, and to take possession of Asti, which had been occupied by the Duke of Orleans; and the confederates undertook to provide the King of the Romans and the King of Ara-

[22] Guicciardini, Lib. II. p. 180.—Giannone, Lib. XXIX. cap. 2.

gon with money, who were simultaneously to burst into France from different quarters. So secretly were these last arrangements concerted that Philip de Comines, then resident at Venice on behalf of Charles, never completely penetrated the mystery; though he could hardly credit the assertions of the Venetian Senate that the league aimed principally at the Turks, and that nothing offensive was intended towards his master. The sagacious Lord of Argenton discovered enough to excite his apprehensions; and he lost no time in warning Charles of his danger.[23]

Alexander, who after his treaty with Charles had joined in the league against him, now dreaded the discovery of his duplicity; and at the approach of the French departed from Rome to Orvieto. Two days afterwards the King peaceably entered the city; and evinced every disposition to pass through the ecclesiastical states without any hostile demonstration. But his advanced guard resented the refusal of Toscanella to permit their passage, and forced their way into the town with great slaughter. After wasting several days in Siena, Charles betook himself to Pisa, where the inhabitants, with tears and lamentations, entreated him to complete their emancipation from Florence. Hitherto he had seen no signs of a hostile army; and though Comines, who met him at Siena, pressed the necessity of continuing his march to avoid the Venetians,

[23] Père Daniel, tom. VIII. p. 204.—Amelot de la Houssaie, tom. I. p. 47.—Daru, tom. III. p. 258.—Mariana, Lib. XXVI. c. 9.—and see the account of Comines, in his Mémoires, Liv. VII. c. 20.) who is naturally anxious to sustain his character for sagacity.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

he treated the sage ambassador's warnings with levity;[24] and even diminished the strength of his army by detaching a force, in the vain hope of wresting Genoa from the Duke of Milan.

It was the desire of the King to form a junction at Placentia with the Duke of Orleans, who had lately taken possession of Novara. He continued his march, therefore, through the Apennines, where he experienced the utmost difficulty in transporting his artillery over the steep and rugged mountains. To the exertions of the Swiss he entirely owed the preservation of his guns, and, according to Comines, of his whole army. Those stubborn mercenaries had incurred the wrath of Charles by an affray with the people of Pontremoli, in which much blood had been shed, and the town consigned to the flames. To wipe away this disgrace, the offenders now put forth extraordinary exertions. To effect the safe descent of the artillery down the precipitous mountains was still more difficult than to draw them up the passes; and in this labour the Swiss accomplished what the horses were unable to achieve.[25]

The first view of the plain of Lombardy discovered the allied army encamped about a league from Fornovo. Their force was chiefly composed of Italians and Dalmatians. But a body of fifteen hundred Albanian cavalry, or *Stratiotes*, in the pay of Venice, were particularly conspicuous from their oriental attire.[26] The army of Charles consisted

[24] Comines, Liv. VIII. c. 2.

[25] Liv. VIII. c. 7.

[26] These troops were remarkable for the speed of their horses, and for the

of only eight thousand men; that of the allies amounted to thirty-four thousand, commanded by Gian-Francesco II. Marquis of Mantua, under whom were his uncle Ridolfo Gonzaga, and Gian-Francesco Sanseverino, Count of Cajazzo, the leader of the troops of Milan. A more expeditious march through Italy would have rescued the King from the present danger, for only eight days had elapsed since the allied troops had been there assembled. Nothing now remained but to negotiate with the enemy, or to hazard a battle with so superior a force.

The French took possession of Fornovo, a town situated on the right hand of the river Taro, which rising in the Apennines flows through a narrow valley into the Po. On the day of his arrival Charles opened a negotiation with the generals of the allies for security from molestation in his return to France. But the Spanish ambassador exerted his eloquence to such purpose, urging the expediency of at once overwhelming the French, that no terms could be agreed upon. The night was anxiously spent by the royal troops; their outposts were attacked by flying parties of the Stratiotes; and a tremendous storm of thunder, accompanied by a deluge of rain, alarmed them as an unpropitious omen. Charles resolved to cross the river on the following morning, and at dawn of day his army was in motion. First went the greater por-

ferocity with which they fought. They killed a French gentleman, (says Comines, ub. sup.) called Le Beuf, and cutting off the head suspended it to a lance, and carried it to their commander *that they might receive a ducat.*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

tion of the artillery; then the van, strengthened by three hundred and fifty French lances, by Trivulzio with his hundred lances, and by the Swiss, who were the very sinews of the army.[27] Then followed the cavalry, or *Battle*, in the midst of which rode the King, accompanied by Trémouille, and completely clad in armour.[28] The rear-guard marched next; and the cavalcade was closed by the baggage and carriages.

It is not very easy to account for the inactivity of the allies during the passage of the French across the river. But though the late rains had greatly swollen the stream and increased the difficulty of the transit, the whole French army was allowed to reach the left bank of the Taro before the allies ventured on the attack. The Marquis of Mantua at length followed the rear of the French, whilst the Count of Cajazzo and a body of Stratiotes were ordered to cross the river at Fornovo, and fall upon the enemy's van. This movement was the commencement of the battle. In a moment the hostile armies were engaged; but the French sustained all attacks with admirable steadiness, whilst a large portion of the allies seemed intent on plunder

Battle of the Taro. 6th July; 1495.

[27] Il nervo e la speranza di quell' esercito. Guicciardini.

[28] According to Paulus Jovius (Lib. II. p. 39.) he was also accompanied by seven young knights, from whom he was not distinguishable, their armour being precisely like his own. I find nothing of this in Comines, or Guicciardini; but Brantome declares he had seen the portraits of the *Neuf Preux* at Xaintonge. Yet he blames Charles for admitting a Venetian herald into his camp on the eve of the battle, who was sent to reconnoitre his particular dress, so as to make him a mark for his enemies. Perhaps this multiplied disguise was intended to counteract his imprudence.

rather than victory. The immense booty which Charles had brought with him from Naples was too strong a temptation for the Italians; and the Stratiotes, unwilling to lose their share of the spoil, deserted the post assigned them. This distraction was perceived by the French, and a vigorous charge threw the allies into inextricable confusion. In a single quarter of an hour the battle was decided. The Italians were pursued in all directions with tremendous slaughter; and the sanguinary fury of the conquerors is attested by the fact, that not a single prisoner was taken by the French. The tent of Charles and an enormous booty were the prize of the vanquished, but were dearly purchased by the blood of three thousand of the allies left dead on the field, including Ridolfo Gonzaga, Ranuccio Farnese, and many of noble family. The loss of the French amounted to scarce three hundred. In the battle the King behaved with the greatest bravery, and was exposed to imminent danger; his kinsman, Matthew, the bastard of Bourbon,[29] being made prisoner, when only twenty paces distant from him. Notwithstanding their great loss, the allies did not scruple to claim the victory, in virtue of the spoil which had been the immediate cause of their discomforture. They did not, however, venture again to attack the French; and Charles and his army proceeded on their march without further molestation, and arrived in safety at Asti.[30]

[29] He was the son of John II. Duke of Bourbon, and by his valour acquired the name of the Great. He died 1505.

[30] Guicciardini, Lib. II. p. 213.—Paul. Jov. Lib. II. p. 41 —Comines, Liv. VIII. c. 10–13.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

The Duke of Orleans besieged in Novara.

Whilst Charles was effecting his escape out of Italy, his kinsman Louis, Duke of Orleans, was reduced to the last extremity in Novara. The rupture of the King with the Duke of Milan had afforded Orleans a favourable opportunity for urging his claims to the dutchy, in virtue of his descent from Valentina Visconte. Admitting the female succession, the claim of Louis was irresistible. Valentina, daughter of Gian-Galeazzo Visconte, married Louis de Valois, Duke of Orleans; and on the death of Filippo-Maria in 1447 without issue, Charles de Valois, son of Louis and Valentina, was the next legitimate descendant of Gian-Galeazzo. As the eldest son of Charles de Valois, Louis, Duke of Orleans, had therefore the clearest title to Milan, which was now possessed by Lodovico, son of the usurper Francesco Sforza. But his claim for the present was vainly urged; and unsupported by Charles he was strictly blockaded in Novara, and happy to be rescued from the pangs of famine by the concessions of the King of France. Under a treaty between Charles and Lodovico Sforza the town of Novara was restored to the Duke of Milan; and the French, who had been made prisoners at the battle of the Taro, were set at liberty. Meanwhile Charles continued his route, and passing through Turin re-crossed the Alps, and arrived in France at the end of October.[31]

Charles VIII. arrives in France.

As soon as Charles VIII. had quitted Naples the exiled Ferdinand, supported by a Spanish force under the Great Captain, Gonsalvo de Cordoba, set

[31] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 254.

sail from Sicily, and landed upon the coast of Calabria. But d'Aubigny, the lieutenant of Charles, valiantly disputed his advance; and after suffering a severe defeat at Seminara, he with difficulty escaped to Messina. A second attempt, however, proved successful. On the day after the battle of the Taro, Ferdinand landed near Naples; and Montpensier, finding the Neapolitans return to their old allegiance, evacuated the Castel Nuovo, and retired to Aversa. Here he was vigorously besieged by Ferdinand assisted by Gonsalvo; and being compelled to surrender was carried prisoner to Pozzuoli, where he soon afterwards died. D' Aubigny, no longer able to maintain his position, withdrew his troops from Calabria, and abandoning the kingdom to Ferdinand returned in safety to France. Ferdinand was not long destined to enjoy his restoration, being cut off by sickness at the close of the following year. And as he died without issue, his uncle Frederic mounted the Neapolitan throne,[32] which he had before refused to ascend during the life time of his father Ferdinand I.[33]

Ferdinand II. returns to Naples.

Expulsion of the French.

Death of Ferdinand II. 1496.

Frederic, King of Naples.

Such was the memorable expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy; and such the rapidity with which the kingdom of Naples was won and lost.[34] The country was for the present cleared of the French invaders; but the defeat at the Taro inflicted a

[32] Guicciard. Lib. III. pp. 62. 65. [33] Ante, p. 238.

[34] Charles won and lost the kingdom of Naples, says Lord Bacon, "in a kind of felicity of a dream." History of Henry VII. Works, 4to. vol. III. p. 69.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

lasting wound on the reputation of the Italian soldiery; and by the easy conquest and safe return of Charles the European nations were taught, that the Alps were no longer to be deemed the walls which protected Italy.

CHAPTER XXXV.

MAXIMILIAN IN ITALY. AFFAIRS OF GERMANY. NEW INSTITUTIONS.

CHAPTER XXXV.

1496.

NOTWITHSTANDING the accession of Maximilian to the league against Charles, he had been unable to take any active part in expelling the French from Italy. His own revenues were utterly incompetent for the maintenance of an army; and the German States persisted in their refusal to furnish him with subsidies sufficient for any effectual undertaking. He was, therefore, compelled to remain a powerless spectator, whilst the imperial authority in Italy was shaken to its very foundation. But though destined to reap no advantage from his sword, he was singularly fortunate in advancing the prosperity of his house by matrimonial engagements; and during the late events in Italy, he completed a negotiation with Spain, which promised to secure that rich country as an inheritance for his descendants.[1]

Spain[2] was now governed by Ferdinand II. King

[1] This provoked the celebrated distich;

Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube:
Nam quæ *Mars* aliis, dat tibi regna *Venus*.

[2] I have already marked the origin of the kingdoms of Leon and Navarre (ante, vol. I. p. 18, note, and p. 56. and the gradual successes of the Chris-

CHAPTER XXXV.

of Aragon, and Isabella, Queen of Castile; and the marriage of these sovereigns cemented the union of the two kingdoms. The characters of Ferdinand and Isabella were extremely dissimilar; historians have agreed to paint the Queen as a model of vir-

tians over the Moors. In the year 1010 convulsions broke out among the Moors themselves, which terminated in the ruin of the Caliphate, the extinction of the house of Omyah, and the establishment of petty kingdoms, which greatly facilitated the conquests of the Christians. But Christian Spain was itself continually divided into three, four, and even five, kingdoms. In the reign of Sancho III. (surnamed the Great) King of Navarre, he invested his second son Ferdinand with Castile by the name of *Count*, which was afterwards exchanged for that of *King*; and Ferdinand, who married the sister of Bermudo III. King of Leon, conquered that prince, and for a time united the kingdoms of Leon and Castile. (A. D. 1035.) On the death of Sancho III., his eldest son Garcias III. succeeded to Navarre, whilst the Aragonese dominions fell to the lot of his natural son Ramirez. The death of Ferdinand in 1065 divided his kingdom, his eldest son Sancho taking Castile, and his second Alfonso reigning in Leon. This division deluged Spain with Christian blood; the elder brother invaded the younger, his army being commanded by the immortal Roderic (better known as the Cid), and Alfonso was driven from the throne. By the assistance of Henry of Burgundy he was enabled to continue the struggle: and Sancho perishing in 1072 by the hand of an assassin, Alfonso VI. added Castile to Leon, and constituted Toledo, then lately gained from the Moors, the capital of his kingdom. The services of Henry of Burgundy were rewarded with the county of Portugal, (A. D. 1095) and Alfonso, the son of Henry, assumed the title of King, (1139.) But Leon and Castile were again to be divided. Alfonso VI. bequeathed the kingdom to his daughter Uracca; and to her succeeded her son, Alfonso VII. That prince parted the crown between his sons (1157), Sancho III. governing Castile, and Ferdinand II. Leon; and their respective sons succeeded them. The two kingdoms were, however, finally united in 1230 under Ferdinand III.—The marriage of Johanna or Joan I. Queen of Navarre with Philip IV. united that kingdom with France. But on the death of Charles IV. Navarre descended to Joan II. daughter of Philip; and, as the Salic law did not apply in that kingdom, it was not united again to France until the accession of Henry IV.—It was united once more to Aragon by the marriage of Blanche, Queen of Navarre, with John II. King of Aragon, and the descendants of their daughter Eleanor enjoyed it, until it was seized by Ferdinand II. in 1512. Meanwhile the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella (in 1469) united Aragon and Castile.

CHAPTER XXXV.

tue; whilst the King, with strong talents for government, a sound judgment, and great quickness of perception, was remarkable for treachery, the unscrupulous breaker of his faith, and an unblushing boaster of the success of his perfidy. But never had Spain arrived at such a pitch of glory as under Ferdinand and Isabella. They completed the great work which for centuries had been the ambition of the Spanish monarchs; and, by the siege and capture of Granada, for ever ruined the Moorish dynasty in Spain. In the same year that Ferdinand and Isabella triumphantly entered the fallen capital of the Saracens, the intrepid Columbus obtained from the Queen her approval of his favourite enterprise, and quitted the shores of Spain to stretch across the Atlantic to the discovery of a new world.[3] With these great sovereigns Maximilian was fortunate enough to conclude a double affiance; the Archduke Philip espousing Johanna, second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella; and Margaret of Austria, the discarded bride of Charles VIII., being betrothed to John, the presumptive heir of Castile and Aragon.[4]

2d Jan. 1492.

Marriage of the Archduke Philip with Johanna of Spain. 21st Oct. 1496.

Though Maximilian despaired of obtaining succour from his German subjects, he soon received encouragement from the states of Italy. The

[3] Robertson's America, vol. I. p. 112. 8vo. 1808. Five years after the discovery of Hispaniola, Vasco de Gama, under the auspices of Emmanuel, King of Portugal, doubled the Cape of Good Hope in his passage to India. ibid. 205.

[4] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 72.—John and Margaret were afterwards married at Burgos in 1498. He died the same year.

CHAPTER XXXV.

kingdom of Naples, so easily won and so rapidly lost, still haunted the recollections of Charles; and the Duke of Orleans renewed his claim to the dutchy of Milan. Every probability existed that the French would return into Italy: to Maximilian, therefore, the Duke of Milan and the Venetians turned for assistance, promising him an ample subsidy for the support of his troops. Another inducement for his appearance in Italy was the renewed attack of Florence upon the lately emancipated Pisans, who had sought and obtained the assistance of the Venetians. The Duke of Milan, who himself coveted Pisa and dreaded the interference of Venice with that city, earnestly pressed upon Maximilian the expediency of his presence in Tuscany; whilst the Venetians advised him to take possession of Leghorn, as the best means of cutting off the French communication with Florence. Maximilian accordingly entered Italy in October 1496, resolved to besiege Leghorn both by land sea. He himself embarked on a Genoese galley, and with a few others appeared before Leghorn, and opened the fire of his artillery against the town. But his little fleet was overtaken by a storm which nearly proved fatal to the King of the Romans; his galley being dashed against a rock, and foundering with great part of his artillery. Nor was the attack by land more efficacious. The Venetians desired nothing less than to see the ally of the Duke of Milan master of the Pisan territory; so that finding himself unsupplied by money or troops Maximilian returned

Expedition of Maximilian into Italy;

Siege of Leghorn,

to Milan; and enraged at the past and despairing of the future retreated in dudgeon to Germany.

He returns to Germany.

Eager to recover his lost honour in the eyes of Europe, Maximilian speculated on a war with the King of France, who persisted in retaining the *dutchy* of Burgundy, and some other territories claimed by the King of the Romans, in virtue of his marriage with the daughter of Charles the Rash. At this moment, when Maximilian and his son Philip were preparing to invade France, Charles VIII. suddenly expired, and Louis, Duke of Orleans, became King of France. As Louis XII. like his predecessor refused to deliver up the disputed territory, the warlike resolves of Maximilian and Philip were still kept alive, though the want of money continually crippled their operations. Little was done towards the seizure of Burgundy; and the Swiss mercenaries who had joined the Austrians, unable to procure their pay, deserted from the unprofitable cause, and at once ruined the enterprise. But Louis having now fully resolved upon the conquest of Milan, found it expedient to make terms with Maximilian; and in consideration of withdrawing his claim to Burgundy, agreed to restore to Philip the towns of Aire, Bethune, and Hesdin. Upon this understanding a treaty was entered into in July 1499; and the Archduke Philip did homage to the chancellor of France, as representative of King Louis, for Flanders, Artois, and Charolois.[5]

Death of Charles VIII. 1498.

Louis XII. King of France.

[5] Père Daniel, tom. VIII. p. 312.—Coxe cites Daniel to prove that Louis did homage to Philip, as Count of *Flanders*, for Boulogne. I do not find

CHAPTER XXXV.

War between Maximilian and the Swiss.

No sooner had the King of the Romans made peace with France than he rashly plunged into a ruinous war with the Helvetic Confederacy, in the vain hope of regaining the ancient possessions of the house of Austria. Not content with calling on the Swiss to acknowledge themselves subjects of the Empire and liable to the burthens of the state, he threatened them with rigorous exactions unless they entered into the Swabian League. Their disobedience he resented by procuring from the Pope their excommunication, as rebels to the Empire and adherents to France. Though the thunders of Alexander VI. had probably little terrour for the Swiss who refused to obey Maximilian, they nevertheless seemed anxious to keep their more mercenary brethren from engaging in a contest with the Empire. Yet enough had been long since done to generate a zest for contention; and by a rupture between their respective allies, open war soon raged between the Helvetians and Imperialists. The Tyrolese having made an incursion upon the Grisons, the Swiss resented the attack upon their allies,[6] whilst the aggressors were supported by the Swabian League and assisted by the troops of the Empire. For nine months a disastrous war desolated Switzerland; but the Swiss obtained the advantage in eight pitched battles. In aid of the

this in Daniel; but it certainly sometimes happened that under the feudal system the liege lord did homage to his vassal for some arrière-fief.

[6] The Grisons became in 1497 the allies of the six Cantons, Zurich, Lucerne, Uri, Schweitz, Unterwalden, and Glaris. Art de vérif. les Dates, tom. III. p. 597.

Swabian League, Maximilian appeared at Friburg, where he published a proclamation, setting forth the contumacy of the Swiss, and calling upon the states of the Empire to take up arms against the rebels. But the German princes declined to interfere, and Maximilian despatched sixteen thousand Austrians to overwhelm the Swiss. Fortune still adhered true to the cause of liberty. The Austrians, whilst investing the Castle of Dornach, were unexpectedly attacked by six thousand Swiss, and defeated with the loss of four thousand men, including their general the Count of Furstenberg.

The Austrians defeated. 22d July; 1499.

Maximilian now thought proper to listen to the mediation of France and Milan, and agreed to a peace with the Swiss, which was ratified in the following September. By this peace the confederates obtained absolute independence of the Empire, military, judicial, and financial; and the completion of the Helvetic liberties may be properly dated from the year 1499. Friburg and Soleure had already since 1481 been incorporated; and the junction of Basle and Schaffhausen in 1501, and of Appenzel shortly afterwards, completed the union of the thirteen Cantons of Switzerland.[7] Happy indeed had it been, if these brave people had employed their arms in the defence of their country only. But they now engaged themselves as the

Completion of the Swiss independence.

[7] Planta, vol. II. p. 290.—The following are the dates of the incorporation of the Cantons;

Schweitz, Uri, Unterwalden, 1308. Lucerne, 1332. Zurich, 1351. Glaris, Zug, Berne, 1352. Friburg, Soleure, 1481. Basle, Schaffhausen, 1501. Appenzel, 1513.

CHAPTER XXXV.

hired combatants in foreign quarrel; and the very men who once refused to interpose in the affairs of a kindred nation[8] quickly became the mercenary and versatile auxiliaries of strangers, and were ever ready to follow the wealthiest master.[9]

Louis XII. had no sooner mounted the throne of France than he announced his intention of enforcing his rights to Milan. An expedition into Italy was therefore undertaken; and Lodovico Sforza had little to hope for from the other Italian states. The Pope was in strict alliance with Louis: the Venetians had entered into a treaty with the King; the Florentines affected to stand neuter, though they were secretly negociating with France, and excused themselves to Lodovico upon the plea of their war with Pisa.[10] From Frederic, King of Naples, indeed, he obtained a promise of succour; and the King of the Romans pledged himself to support him. But the legions of Naples and Austria were distant and uncertain; and Sforza, with nothing to rely on beyond his own exertions, proceeded to strengthen his fortresses which lay nearest to France. He gave the command of his main army to Galeazzo Sanseverino, and placed the Marquis of Mantua at the head of a force in order to check the Venetians. But so rapid were the operations of the French, assisted by five thousand Swiss, that Sanseverino fell back into

Louis XII. invades the Milanese.

[8] Ante, p. 3.

[9] The first Swiss mercenaries who served in France were led by John, Duke of Calabria, in 1465.—Comines, Liv. I. c. 6.

[10] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 186.

Alessandria; and Sforza, in this exigency, endeavoured to secure the wavering people of Milan. He convoked an assembly, in which he relieved them from their heaviest burthens, endeavoured to excuse the severities of his government, enlarged upon the benefits they had derived from him and his father, and promised them assistance from the King of the Romans and the King of Naples. But his address was received with coldness. His affairs in the field were every day growing more desperate. Alessandria and Pavia surrendered to the enemy; and Lodovico, abandoning all hope, sent his family into Germany, and immediately afterwards followed them to Innspruch. Milan and the whole of the dutchy surrendered to the invaders; and on the news of this easy conquest, Louis quitted Lyons in all haste, and took possession of Milan to the great joy of the people. Cremona and the adjacent territory were made over to the Swiss as the price of their alliance. About the same time, Genoa also placed herself once more under the government of France. Louis appointed Trivulzio Viceroy of Milan, his native city; and returned into France, carrying with him the young son of the unfortunate Gian-Galeazzo, whom he immediately immured in a monastery.[11]

Lodovico Sforza abandons Milan. 2d Sept. 1499.

Louis enters Milan; 6th Oct.

Genoa submits to France.

1500.

[11] Guicciard. Lib. IV. pp 190. 229. Daru, tom. III. 326. The young Francesco became Abbot of Marmoutiers, and died in 1511. His sister Bona married Sigismund, King of Poland, and retired, after her husband's death, to Naples, where she abandoned herself to illicit pleasures, and died ruined in character and fortune in 1559. Thuanus, Lib. XVI. tom. I. p. 488. —Lib. XXIII. p. 706.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The fugitive Lodovico and his brother the Cardinal Ascanio were warmly received by Maximilian, who proposed to march in person and restore the Duke to his dutchy. But if Maximilian were sincere in his intention, the parsimony of the States deprived him of the means of equipping an effective army. Meanwhile the fickle Milanese, who had been indifferent to the Duke while he remained in the capital, began to regret his absence. The government of Trivulzio was moreover unpopular; the nobles and people still professed their attachment to the ancient Ghibellin principles; and as the Viceroy was a Guelph, they soon broke out into murmurs and tumult. The fierce and sanguinary measures of Trivulzio to restore order only served to increase the spirit of rebellion, and Lodovico in his retreat in Germany was earnestly pressed to return to his country. He, therefore, advanced across the Alps, and easily became master of Como; and the news of this event no sooner reached Milan than the popular feeling became ungovernable. Trivulzio was compelled to retire from the city, which was taken possession of by Ascanio Sforza; and Lodovico made his triumphal entry, applauded by the same voices that had lately been clamorous in the welcome of the King of France.[12]

Lodovico Sforza restored to Milan.

Most of the Milanese cities immediately declared against the French; and Lodovico was enabled to collect an army, augmented by a large body of Swiss. But the exultation of the Duke was sud-

[12] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 231.

denly converted into despair by the baseness of these mercenaries, who deserted him at the critical moment, pretending a reluctance to fight against their countrymen, many of whom had joined the French army.[13] All that he could obtain by his most earnest entreaties was permission to mingle with their numbers, and, disguised as one of themselves, to endeavour to elude his enemies. But even this hope was cut off by the vigilance of the French, or the further perfidy of the Swiss; and being made prisoner, Lodovico was carried in triumph to King Louis at Lyons. After suffering a captivity of four years at Lis de S. George in Berri, he was removed to the tower of Loches; where in a miserable dungeon he dragged out the remainder of his existence and died in 1510. His brother the cardinal was more mildly treated, and sent to a less rigorous confinement in the tower of Bourges, where Louis XII. had himself been formerly detained as a prisoner.[14] Such was the merited fate by which Lodovico Sforza was doomed to close a life of fraud and tyranny. By the murder of his nephew he ascended the throne of Milan, and to

Lodovico Sforza betrayed by the Swiss;

His captivity;

And death. 1510.

[13] . Il perfido Svizzero che prende
Colui ch' a sua difesa l' ha assoldato.
Orl. Fur. c. XXXIII. st. 36.

[14] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 236.—Daniel tom. VIII. p. 329. According to the Swiss writers, the individual Swiss who betrayed Lodovico was put to death by his exasperated countrymen. Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 388.—Planta, vol. II. p. 299.—The History of the League of Cambray (generally ascribed to the Abbé Dubos) asserts, that Lodovico was still alive in 1512, when he was set at liberty by Louis XII. to favour his own political views; but died a few days after he recovered his liberty. There seems no foundation for this story. See Daru, tom. III. p. 583. note.

CHAPTER XXXV.

secure his usurped authority he had kindled a war in Italy. By his invitation, the French had spread themselves through the devoted country; and by these very strangers he was dragged from the throne to expire in hopeless captivity.

It seemed fated that Maximilian should be set in activity as soon only as his exertions could no longer be of service. Nearly connected with the Duke of Milan he had elated him with promises of assistance against the French invasion, and had reposed till his ally was driven from his capital. He then again was profuse in his promises; and remained inactive, until the fate of the Duke was sealed. Whilst Lodovico groaned in his dungeon, the King of the Romans breathed forth war and vengeance; and the loss of so important a fief as Milan might well excite his tardy energies. But this violent ebullition did not long continue. The King of France, encouraged by the easy conquest of Milan, determined upon invading Naples; and as he found Maximilian little inclined to treat of peace, he had recourse to the Archduke Philip. To this prince he offered his alliance, and his co-operation in securing to him the crowns of Castile and Aragon. He agreed to give his daughter in marriage to the son of Philip; and by such advantageous promises procured the mediation of the Archduke with his father. The pacific counsels of Philip were supported by the timely and irresistible offer of a large sum of money; and a treaty was concluded at Trent, by which Maximilian engaged to invest

Treaty of Trent. 13th Dec. 1501.

Louis with the dutchy of Milan, and the King bound himself to do his utmost to secure for the house of Austria the succession to the crowns of Spain, Hungary, and Bohemia. It was also agreed that a marriage should be contracted between Claude, the daughter of Louis and Charles the infant son of Philip; and in case of the birth of a son to the King, the heir of France was to be betrothed to Eleanor the Archduke's daughter.[15]

Institutions for the preservation of the public peace.

From these abortive attempts at foreign warfare, we may turn with satisfaction to the good work in which Maximilian participated, for the purpose of allaying the domestic troubles of Germany. The inveterate practice of private warfare, and the continual broils between the cities and the nobles, had long called for reformation. The ancient device of the Truce of God had become obsolete; and the occasional proclamations of public peace were but little regarded. The insolence of the nobility was, indeed, somewhat repressed by the leagues of the Rhine and the Hanse-towns, and by the more recent league of Swabia; but Germany was still exposed to the calamities of civil war, and the sword was too often the arbiter of the parties' rights. Much of this was owing to the defective state of the German jurisprudence, to which I have already adverted;[16] and the States had met the calls of Frederic III. and his son on their liberality, by demanding an effectual remedy for this deficiency.

[15] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 80.—Schmidt, Book, VII. c. 30.

[16] Ante, chap. XXVII. p. 71.

CHAPTER XXXV.

But they in vain attempted to extort from Frederic III. the erection of a tribunal of sufficient authority to enforce the tranquillity of the country. A public peace had been proclaimed in 1486 for ten years; but it remained for Maximilian to accomplish a system, which promised to the nation a more durable peace and an efficacious administration of justice. At a Diet held at Worms, a new decree was made forbidding, under pain of the Ban of the Empire and a penalty of two thousand golden marks, all private challenges, and all wars between the States. To give more complete effect to the latter prohibition, a tribunal was at the same time instituted, whose judgments were declared binding on the States and Princes. This was the famous Imperial Chamber of the Emperor Maximilian.

Diet of Worms. 1495.

The Imperial Chamber was established at Frankfort,[17] consisting of a president chosen from the States, and sixteen assessors, either nobles or doctors of law, nominated by the Emperor on the recommendation of the Diet. It was a court of appeal of the last instance, and entertained no cause,

The Imperial Chamber.

[17] The Imperial Chamber was afterwards transferred to Worms; to Nuremberg; to Augsburg; to Ratisbon; to Eslingen; and in 1527 to Spires. After the destruction of that city in 1688 it had no fixed place until 1698, when it was established at Wetzlar, an imperial city on the Lahn.—After several changes in its internal constitution, it was settled, at the peace of Westphalia, that the Chamber should consist of a chief judge, four presidents (of whom two should be protestants,) and fifty counsellors, twenty-six being catholics. But this establishment being found too expensive, the number was at length reduced to a judge, two presidents, and seventeen counsellers. Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 67.

which had not passed regularly through all the grades of adjudication. It possessed jurisdiction over all *civil* causes, as well those of the States and Princes as of inferior persons: but over no *criminal* case which did not involve the public peace. With respect to the States and Princes, their disputes were to be settled by the Austrag: and where a common person sued a Prince, nine of the Prince's chief counsellors were to be judges. From the judgment of the Austrag and counsellors an appeal lay to the Imperial Chamber; and from the judgments of the States, in the case of private individuals. Six years afterwards Maximilian established an Aulic Council at Vienna, for his own hereditary dominions; which in some measure interfered with the Imperial Chamber. This Council possessed a concurrent jurisdiction with the Chamber in all cases: and an exclusive jurisdiction over feudal causes, and those which concerned Italy.[18]

The Aulic Council.

In the same Diet of Worms, an attempt was made to repress the usurpations of the Wehmic jurisdiction. Against this Court the voice of the States had been often lifted during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But the number and influence of the initiated enabled the *Free judges* to persist in their murderous course; and they even dared to menace Frederic III. for endeavouring to reform the Secret Tribunal. To curb this mon-

[18] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 363.—Pfeffel, tom. II. pp. 68. 88. 98.—Heiss, tom. II. p. 387. These latter appeals became more rare, owing to the grants by the Emperors to the States of the privilege *de non appellando*.

CHAPTER XXXV.

strous evil was reserved for Maximilian and his successor; but the complete extinction of the Wehmic Court was not affected until the year 1568.[19]

The precautions hitherto taken for the preservation of the public peace had been inadequate to restrain some of the inferior nobles from the system of private and predatory warfare.[20] This evil, indeed, had been considerably diminished by the invention of gunpowder, against which the freebooter's walls and towers were but feeble protection. But in the year 1500 Maximilian still further provided for tranquillity, by carrying into execution the design of Wenceslaus, of dividing Germany into Circles. The kingdom was on this occasion divided into six; viz. those of Bavaria, Franconia, Saxony, Rhine, Swabia, and Westphalia. The King of Bohemia and Teutonic Prussia refused to be included in these Circles; nor were the Electors or the Estates of the house of Austria for the present comprised in this arrangement. But in the year 1512 four more Circles were added to the six; viz. Austria; Burgundy; Lower Rhine, which included the three ecclesiastical Electors and the Elector Palatine; and Upper Saxony, which included the electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg and their dependent states.[21] Over each of these Circles a *Director* was appointed to preside; who

Division of Germany into Circles.

1512.

[19] Struvius, p. 737.—Pfeffel, tom. II. pp. 17. 70. 121

[20] Ex. gr. Goetz von Berlichingen (Goethe's hero); Franz von Sickingen; and Wilhelm von Grumbach Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 566.

[21] Struvius, p. 940.—Pfeffel, tom. II pp. 77. 96.

summoned the assemblies, and watched over the maintenance of peace and the internal police of the district. Every Circle was also furnished with a body of troops under the command of a *Colonel,* to which office no one was eligible who was not by birth a German. The offices of director and colonel were frequently united in the same person; and to him was entrusted the execution of the decrees and sentences of the Imperial Chamber and Aulic Council.[22] Thus fortified by the sword, these two tribunals continued their functions until that great convulsion, which, in the present century, overwhelmed the ancient institutions of Germany, and converted what was once of historical importance into little better than matter of antiquarian research.

[22] Pfeffel, ub. sup.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SECOND EXPEDITION OF MAXIMILIAN INTO ITALY.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Treaty of Blois. 30th Dec. 1501.

THE treaty of Trent between Maximilian and Louis XII. was soon afterwards ratified at Blois, whither the Archduke Philip had gone on his way to Spain. But when, in pursuance of the stipulation for the investiture of Milan, the deputies of Louis arrived at Mentz for the purpose of doing homage to Maximilian in the name of their master, the German monarch thought fit to break his engagement, and the deputies could only appeal to the Diet.[1] Louis was, however, too busy with his Neapolitan conquest to resent this breach of faith; for not Louis alone aspired to the possession of Naples. The treacherous Ferdinand forsook his kinsman and ally King Frederic, and determined to unite the kingdom to his own dominions. As the claims of Louis interfered with his views, he resorted to that political perfidy so common with him, and proposed to the French King their co-operation in the conquest, and the division of the kingdom between them. Louis readily acceded to this proposal; and as Frederic had deeply offended the Pope, a bull

[1] Père Daniel, tom. VIII. p. 550.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

was thundered from the Vatican, declaring him deposed from the throne, and transferring his territories to the kings of France and Spain. In less than four months their united arms prevailed. The unfortunate and virtuous Frederic was compelled to abandon Naples, and threw himself upon the generosity of Louis, who assigned him an annuity of thirty thousand ducats, with the title of Count of Anjou. The short remainder of his life he passed tranquilly in France, and died at Tours in 1504.[2] He lived, however, sufficiently long to witness the completion of Ferdinand's treacherous design. Having succeeded by the assistance of France in driving out the reigning prince, the Spanish king commenced an attack upon his French allies; and aided by the renowned Gonsalvo de Cordoba by land and the Venetian fleet by sea, he completed, after a struggle of less than two years, the expulsion of the French from Naples.[3] The kingdom was now again annexed to the crown of Aragon; but as Ferdinand had received most material assistance from Venice, that republic was put in possession of Otranto, Brundusium, and other maritime cities, which were to be delivered up to the king upon his repaying to the Venetians the expenses they had incurred on his behalf.[4]

Conquest of Naples by the French and Spaniards. 1501.

The French expelled by the Spaniards. 1503.

[2] Guicciardini, Lib. V. p. 274.

[3] This war proved fatal to Piero de' Medici, who having joined the French, was drowned in the Garigliano, whilst attempting to escape from the victorious Spaniards. Guicciard. Lib. VI. He left a son Lorenzo, whose daughter was the celebrated Catherine, queen of Henry II. of France.

[4] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 56.—Giannone, Lib. XXIX. c. 4.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Whilst the important dynasties of Milan and Naples were thus becoming vested in the kings of France and Aragon, the heart of Italy was falling a prey to a prince, whose pre-eminence in perfidy and cruelty may challenge the blackest records of ancient or modern history. Cæsar Borgia, the second son of Pope Alexander VI. (a son worthy such a father), no sooner learned his father's elevation to the Popedom than he quitted his studies at Pisa, and flew to Rome to throw himself at the feet of the new Pontiff. His reception, however, was far from encouraging. Alexander poured forth a sage and unwelcome lesson of moderation and forbearance; and forbad him to hope that his rise in life would be the necessary consequence of his own exaltation. He censured the practice of former Popes, who had sacrificed the interests of the holy see to the advancement of their families; and bidding him seek for honour by the path of virtue, gave him his benediction and dismissed him from his presence. The by-standers heard with astonishment this edifying admonition; and Borgia withdrew disappointed and bewildered to the consoling assurances of his mother, the courtesan Vanozia.[5]

Cæsar Borgia;

But before Cæsar Borgia had time to enter upon the rugged path of virtue, he found himself promoted to the rank of Archbishop of Valentia in Spain, and invested moreover with the hat of a cardinal. He now gave loose to his natural disposition, and his career was thenceforward re-

Created Archbishop and Cardinal; 1492.

[5] Chaufepié, art. Borgia, and note.

markable for its scrupulous consistency. His first signal exploit is usually reported to have been the murder of his eldest brother, Don Juan Borgia, Duke of Gandia; and jealousy of his father's excessive regard, and the rivalry of the brothers in their sister's love,[6] have both been assumed as the cause of Juan's assassination. In favour of this much-loved son, the Pope erected the city of Benevento into a dutchy: but the Duke enjoyed his new dignity for only a short period. After parting one night in the street with his brother Cæsar, he returned no more to the palace; and his body was soon afterwards discovered in the Tiber, transpierced with nine mortal wounds. It must be conceded in behalf of Cæsar, that no positive proof was ever adduced of his having perpetrated or instigated the murder. The Pope, we are told, was firmly convinced of his guilt, and gave way to a paroxysm of affliction; but from this agony he was suddenly relieved by Vanozia, who in a private conference imparted a secret which at once dried the tears of the afflicted father. What this might be, it is in vain to surmise; the infamous character of all the parties gave rise to a thousand scandalous conjectures; and it was even said, that Alexander's grief was converted into joy, on learning he had been ridded of a rival in his amours with his daughter Lucretia. Certain it is that Cæsar lost no share in his father's confidence; and it may be frequently difficult to assign to each his due portion of guilt in their nefarious proceedings.

Murder of his brother Juan Borgia. 1497.

[6] Guicciard. Lib. III. p. 104.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Treachery to the Archbishop of Cosenza.

The first remarkable instance of their joint villany occurred in the ruin of Florida, Archbishop of Cosenza, and papal Secretary of briefs. A nun who, according to some writers, was heiress[7] to the crown of Portugal, being desirous of quitting her profession in order to espouse a natural son of King John II., obtained from Alexander a brief of dispensation, which released her from her conventual vows. This highly displeased Ferdinand II. of Aragon, as endangering his rights to the Portuguese succession; and Alexander grew alarmed at incurring the wrath of this powerful sovereign. But he was relieved from his perplexity by the suggestion of his son Cæsar; and, by his advice, the Archbishop was accused of having forged the brief in question. Florida was accordingly sent prisoner to the Castle of St. Angelo, where he for some time continued firmly to deny the charge. But his resolution promising him only a protracted incarceration, he was tempted to yield to the offers of the Pope, who gave him his choice between captivity for life as consequent on his denial, and liberty and the highest preferment in case he admitted the forgery. When Alexander had obtained this admission, he brought the Archbishop to trial before a consistory; and his conviction upon his own confession was followed by sentence of deprivation of his dignities, confiscation of his estates, and imprisonment for life upon bread and water. The in-

[7] This part of the story is evidently untrue. John II. died without male issue; but there was no lack of male collaterals; his cousin Emmanuel succeeded him in 1495, and had several sons, the second of whom, John III. became King in 1521.

genuity of Cæsar's suggestion was rewarded by the Archbishop's forfeited possessions, and the guiltless prelate expired in a dungeon in the Castle of St. Angelo.[8]

Borgia renounces the ecclesiastical profession. 1498.

As the clerical character was somewhat at variance with the military projects of Borgia, he was permitted by his father to lay aside his cardinal's hat, and renounce the ecclesiastical profession. The father and son had already turned their views towards Naples, and the proposed marriage of Cæsar with Carlotta, daughter of King Frederic, seemed to open a road to the Neapolitan throne. But rather than incur the pollution of such an alliance, the King and his daughter indignantly rejected the proposal; and Frederic thus drew down the vengeance of the Pope, which mainly contributed to his ruin.

In France, Cæsar Borgia found greater favour. Soon after his accession, Louis XII., who still nourished his passion for Anne of Bretainy, resolved to make her his wife. The death of her husband Charles VIII. had removed the difficulty on her part; but as Joan, the wife of Louis, still lived, the papal sanction became necessary for the divorce and marriage. Alexander, eager to recommend Cæsar to the King, sent him into France with the bull of dispensation; and Cæsar, willing to extort the highest price for the precious document, sup-

[8] This story seems to rest upon the authority of Burchard, the master of the ceremonies to the Pope. It is related, however, by Thomasi and Gordon, and adopted by Chaufepie.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

pressed for a while the fact of his having brought it with him. The secret, however, was divulged to Louis by the papal legate, the Bishop of Setta; and the King no longer hesitated in procuring his divorce to be pronounced, and publicly espoused the widowed Anne. Borgia was created Duke of Valence in Dauphiny; and thus by an easy transition the Cardinal of Valentia was converted into the Duke Valentino.[9]. The bishop of Setta paid the forfeit of his premature communication, being shortly afterwards carried off by poison.[10]

Murder of the Bishop of Setta. 1499.

Through the influence of Louis XII. Duke Valentine contracted an honourable alliance with the reigning family of Navarre, by espousing Charlotte, daughter of Alain,[11] Lord of Albret, the once odious suitor of Anne, Queen of France. Louis, indeed, was lavish in his favours; and besides the dutchy of Valence and his noble bride, Borgia obtained from the King a formidable body of troops. He, therefore, returned to Italy to commence his long meditated undertaking of reducing Romagna, and wresting the cities of the holy see from the power of the nobles who had gradually usurped possession. Imola surrendered without a blow.[12] The town of Forli also capitulated; and the citadel, after a brave resistance by Caterina Sforza, fell into Borgia's

Imola taken by Borgia. 31st Dec. 1499.

[9] So he is invariably styled by the Italian writers.

[10] Guicciardini, Lib. IV. p. 154.

[11] Muratori Ann. 1499 calls her by mistake, *daughter of* John, King of Navarre. She was sister to John, who became King of Navarre by his marriage with Catherine de Foix.

[12] Guicciard. Lib. IV. p. 226

CHAPTER XXXVI.

power. His career was for a short time impeded by the recal of his troops to the service of Louis; but he soon returned to the charge. Pesaro was captured from Giovanni Sforza; Rimini from Pandolfo Malatesta; and Borgia commenced the siege of Faenza, which city was resolutely defended by its Lord Astorre Manfredi, a youth not quite eighteen. The dawning virtues of Astorre III. secured to him the affections of his people; and their strenuous exertions in defence of the town, assisted by the arrival of winter, compelled the besiegers to retire. But early in the ensuing year, the city was again besieged with renewed vigour; and it soon became apparent that nothing but death or surrender could save the inhabitants from the terrible Borgia. Astorre was, therefore, prevailed upon to make terms with the besiegers. It was stipulated that the persons and property of the inhabitants should be respected; and that Astorre should be permitted to depart without molestation, and withdraw to whatever place he might choose for his retirement. Upon these terms the city was placed in the hands of Borgia, who preserved his faith towards the people and their possessions. But the extraordinary beauty of Astorre betrayed him to the cruelest of fates. For a time he was honourably treated by the conqueror; but was suddenly seized and sent prisoner to the Vatican; and the lust of some one being satiated,[13] he was murdered, together with a natural brother; and their bodies were consigned to the Tiber.

Forli, Pesaro, and Rimini taken. 1500.

Faenza taken. 1501.

[13] Guicciard. Lib. V. p. 259.—Brantome Tom. IV. p. 119.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Borgia created Duke of Romagna.

These successes of Borgia were rewarded by the Pope with the title of Duke of Romagna; and he proceeded from Faenza to Bologna, in hopes of extorting that city from Giovanni Bentivoglio. But his design was checked by the injunction of the King of France, who had already tarnished his reputation by his connivance with Alexander and his blood-guilty son.[14] Compelled to abstain from Bologna, he cast his eyes upon Florence, who, with all her efforts, had still been unable to effect the reduction of Pisa. Aware of the intestine confusion which as usual distracted Florence, he marched towards the city, with the avowed object of restoring the Medici. Here, however, he was again crossed in his real or pretended purpose by the intervention of the French King; and after some unimportant conquests the Duke of Romagna returned to Rome. But he was not long inactive. He attacked and captured Piombino; and resolved to become master of Urbino, although the Duke Guidubaldo Montefeltro was the faithful ally of the Pope. Distrustful of his ability to seize the city by force, he resorted to treachery; and having advanced to Camerino, laid siege to that town, and applied to the Duke of Urbino for assistance. The Duke fell at once into the snare; he ordered off the troops, which should have guarded his capital, to join the forces of Borgia; whilst Borgia rushed upon the defenceless city, and the Duke of Urbino

Piombino, Urbino, and Camerino taken.

[14] It is justly remarked by De Thou (Lib. I. p. 11.), that the character of Louis XII, otherwise respectable, has greatly suffered by his co-operation with the Pope and Cæsar.

with difficulty preserved himself by flight. Under colour of a treaty he prevailed on Camerino to open her gates; and the Lord of the city, Giulio da Varano, and two of his sons were immediately strangled by the captor.[15]

Borgia deserted by his captains. 1502.

Amongst the Italian captains who led the troops of Borgia were Giampagolo Baglioni, Lord of Perugia, Pandolfo Petrucci, Lord of Siena, Vitellozzo Vitelli, Lord of Città di Castello, Francesco Orsino, Duke of Gravina, his brother Pagolo Orsino, and Oliverotto da Fermo. The capture of the cities of Romagna had already excited in these leaders apprehensions for their own possessions; the late treachery of Borgia towards the Duke of Urbino convinced them that his friendship was as dangerous as his enmity, and they became anxious to detach themselves from his perilous alliance. Meanwhile Borgia continued his successes in Tuscany; Cortona and Arezzo had already yielded; and his views were again turned towards Florence, when new and more vehement injunctions arrived from Louis XII. Unwilling to offend so powerful an ally, he hastened to Asti; and in an interview with the King excused his proceedings, and completely restored their good understanding. But on his return to Romagna he found himself deserted by his principal leaders, who resolved to put a stop to his alarming progress. Animated by their defection, Urbino revolted from Borgia and declared for her

[15] According to the Epitome of the 8th book of Paulus Jovius, he murdered *four* of this family. Tom. I. p. 88.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

rightful Duke; and Camerino recalled Giovanni Varano, surviving son of her murdered Lord. Startled by this unexpected opposition, Borgia applied for succour to Louis; but the more ready means of avoiding the danger lay in his own inexhaustible stores of dissimulation and perfidy. His conduct upon this occasion fully justifies the high panegyric which the profound Machiavelli has passed upon his pre-eminent villany. That sagacious writer, not content with cursory encomiums upon the admirable treachery of his idol, has himself handed down a detailed account of the matter, written in a spirit perfectly congenial with the transaction he so coldly and minutely describes. His authority cannot be doubted; for he happened at this moment to be present with Borgia, having been sent upon a negotiation from Florence.

The disaffected captains suffered themselves to be won over by Borgia's insidious tongue. They again returned to his service, and the Duke of Urbino and the Lord of Camerino were again compelled to abandon their states. By the command of Borgia four of his leaders, the two Orsini, Vitellozzo, and Oliverotto seized upon Sinigaglia; but the governor of the citadel refused to deliver up that fortress to any but the Duke in person. Borgia proceeded to Fano, and there unbosomed his deep-laid scheme to eight of his most confidential friends, among whom were Don Michele, and Monsignor d' Euna, afterwards created a cardinal. He instructed them, that as soon as the Orsini, Vitel-

lozzo, and Oliverotto came out from Sinigaglia to meet him, two of the eight should attach themselves to every one of the four, whom they were to place between them, and engage in discourse until they were safely lodged in Borgia's quarters. He stationed his forces on the Metauro about five miles from Fano, consisting of more than two thousand horse and ten thousand foot. He joined them on the last day of December; and sending forward two hundred horse and the infantry, himself followed with the remainder of the cavalry, and rode for Sinigaglia. As he approached the city, the Orsini and Vitellozzo were seen advancing to meet him, Oliverotto being left in charge of the town. Borgia received them with a friendly aspect; but observing the absence of Oliverotto, he gave a sign to Michele, who had been appointed to guard him; and Michele riding forward into the city soon returned with his victim. They then all proceeded to Sinigaglia; and the four alighting at Borgia's quarters were conducted into a retired chamber, and immediately made prisoners. Borgia then led his troops against those of the captive chiefs, and at once routed the force of Oliverotto. But the troops of the Orsini and Vitellozzo, which lay farther off, had time to form in order, and effected their retreat through the country. He was now compelled to turn upon his own soldiers, who had commenced sacking the city; nor was the pillage checked until many had perished. On the arrival of night every thing being tranquil, Vitellozzo and Oliverotto were

CHAPTER XXXVI.

brought out by order of the Duke, and strangled. "The two Orsini were suffered to live, until the Duke learned that the Pope at Rome had seized on Cardinal Orsino, the Archbishop of Florence, and Jacopo da Santa Croce. After which news, the Orsini, on the 18th of January 1503 at Castel della Pieve, were in like manner strangled." [16]

Murder of Borgia's captains. 1502.

The murder of the Orsini was immediately followed by the seizure of their estates. Borgia took possession of Città di Castello, and Baglioni [17] abandoned Perugia to the spoiler. Petrucci fled from Siena, which was closely besieged, until the Duke was recalled to Rome to overwhelm the Roman barons. How agreeable the course of his son had been to the Pope, may be ascertained by his proposal to create Cæsar Borgia, King of Romagna. But at the moment of their highest elevation the shaft of death closed the career of the father, and withered the fortunes of the son. A mortal sickness seized on Alexander, and Borgia at the same time fell dangerously ill. This simultaneous sick-

Perugia taken. 1503.

[16] Descrizione del modo tenuto dal Duca Valentino, &c.—Machiav. Opere, tom. II. p. 15. Machiavelli concludes his dry narrative without any comment: but in his celebrated "Prince" the conduct of Borgia on this occasion is highly applauded, and his example recommended to all princes as one necessary to be pursued by a prudent and virtuous man for the foundation of his power. The very seizure of the victims with him implies their murder; and having adverted to the former, he assumes the latter as matter unnecessary to be recorded;—"nelle sue mani. Spenti adunque questi capi." &c.—Prencipe, cap. VI. Cardinal Battista Orsino died in confinement, and according to Guicciardini (Lib. V. p. 316), by poison.

[17] The character of this Baglioni seems to have been scarcely less infamous than that of Borgia. See Machiavel. Discorsi, Lib. I. c. 27. Opere, tom. III. p. 76.

ness has been generally attributed to poison,[18] which the guilty pair had designed for some of the cardinals, but which, by mistake of the attendants, was administered to themselves. The vigour of Borgia's constitution baffled his protracted disease; but Alexander, after languishing a few days, expired on the 18th of August 1503, in the seventy-second year of his age. This event proved fatal to the power of Cæsar, notwithstanding all his precautions in anticipation of his father's death. His sickness at this important moment forbad his taking active measures; the cities of Romagna revolted from him; and, attacked by the Orsini in Rome, he was compelled to take refuge in the Castle of St. Angelo.[19] He was subsequently arrested at Ostia, but contrived to escape to Naples; where, instead of being assisted by Gonsalvo de Cordoba, he was in his turn betrayed and sent prisioner to Spain. He again effected his escape, and fled to his brother-in-law John d' Albret, King of Navarre; and perished in a skirmish under the walls of Viana on the 12th of March 1507.[20]

Death of Alexander VI.

Ruin and death of Cæsar Borgia.

1504.

1506.

No family ever engrossed a larger share of obloquy than that of Borgia. The father Alexander convicted of corruption and perfidy, and violently

[18] Muratori rejects the story of poison.—M. Daru, (Hist. de. Venise, tom. III. p. 353 note) has fairly canvassed all the accounts, without however, coming to any satisfactory conclusion.

[19] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 36.

[20] Guicciard. Lib. VII. p. 133.—Marianna, Lib. XXIX. c. 6.—Art de vérif. tom. II. p. 464.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

suspected of an incestuous intercourse with his own daughter:—the eldest son abandoned to debauchery, and also accused of incest:—the second, Cæsar, the rival of his father and brother in his sister's criminal passion;[21] the incestuous paramour of the wife of his brother Geffrey; the avowed murderer of four of his own captains; and the supposed assassin of his brother-in-law Alfonso of Aragon:—the daughter Lucretia yielding to the lusts of her father and brothers;—such is the picture which the contemporary authors present of this infamous race. All these charges could scarcely have been invented by political rancour or private hatred; and some of them are so certainly true, that great difficulty arises in determining which to reject. It is probable that much has been laid to the charge of Alexander and Borgia which has no real foundation; but it is enough to cover both with infamy, that the one perpetrated the murders of Sinigaglia, whilst the other connived at and approved the deed. The reputation of Lucretia Borgia, after having long been tainted, has lately found a champion,[22] who mainly builds his argument upon the silence of Burchard, the daily registrar of the proceedings of the Vatican. But whilst her amiable vindicator endeavours to clear her of incest, he adduces such evidence of her *amusements* as proves her to

[21] Chaufepié, art. Borgia.

[22] See Mr. Roscoe's Dissertation affixed to the first vol. of his "Life of Leo X."—and Pignotti's remarks thereon, Lib. V. c. 3. n. (51).

have been totally devoid of every sense of decency. After having been twice married,[23] she was espoused for the third time by Alfonso I. Duke of Ferrara; and the friends of the house of Este might reasonably lament its pollution by the introduction of one of the family of Borgia.

As head of the Church, Alexander is branded with corruption the most flagrant and unblushing. The benefices of the holy see were matters of open traffic: and Indulgences were profusely disposed of to sustain the ambitious designs of the Pope and his son.[24] Alexander has been extolled for his ready eloquence, his extraordinary memory, and his political accomplishments. These qualities shine but dimly through the dark cloud which rests upon his character; and though his foes may have overcharged his guilt, he seems universally to be stigmatized as one of the worst men that ever disgraced a throne.

Pius III. 1503.

The successor of Alexander was Pius III. nephew of Æneas Sylvius, who survived his coronation only a few days. Even before the opening of the new Conclave the cardinals were agreed in their choice, and unanimously elected Giuliano della Rovere. The names of Alexander and Cæsar were now grown infamous; but that of Julius, which

Julius II. 1503-1513.

[23] She was married in 1493 to Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, which marriage the Pope annulled in 1497. Her second husband (1498) was Alfonso, Duke of Bisaglia, natural son of Alfonso II. King of Naples. After being desperately wounded by some midnight assassins he was carried to the Vatican, and there strangled. In the following year Lucretia married Alfonso d'Este, and died in 1520.

[24] Murat. Ann. 1503.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

was assumed by the new Pope, well suited his martial and enterprising spirit.[25]

Whatever concern Maximilian might have felt during these revolutions in Italy, his own penury and the parsimony of the German States still forbad his mingling in the strife. His warlike desires seemed, indeed, rather inclined towards the Turks, and his exhortations were poured forth in the most solemn manner to provoke the princes to the expulsion of the Infidels. But on this occasion his own irregular conduct was sternly resented by the the States as a breach of their privileges. Instead of convoking a Diet for the grand national enterprise, he contented himself with addressing them by letters; and they assembled themselves at Gelnhausen, where they instituted the Electoral Union.[26] Here they passed resolutions, by which they bound themselves to maintain unanimity in their counsels; to yield each other mutual support; to listen to no proposal from the sovereign unless made to them in concert; and to meet once in each year for deliberating on the affairs of the Empire. This measure did not fail to awaken the wrath of Maximilian: but in spite of his angry remonstrances the Electors resolved to persevere in their Union; and in their turn remonstrated with the King upon the encroachments of his Aulic Council. These bickerings, therefore, not only

The Electoral Union of Germany. 2d July. 1502.

[25] Guicciard. Lib. VI. p. 36.

[26] But similar meetings took place as early as 1338, and again in 1399.—See Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 539.

deprived Maximilian of the means of carrying on the war, but compelled him to forego another favourite project, the erection of the archdutchy of Austria into a new electorate.[27]

In this angry state of feeling, the death of George, Duke of Bavaria-Landshut, opportunely turned the attention of the parties to a new object. As the Duke died without male issue, his estates, as well feudal as allodial, were claimed by his next collateral kinsmen, Albert and Wolfgang, of the branch of Bavaria-Munich; whose pretensions were opposed by the late Duke's daughter Elizabeth and her husband Rupert, son of Philip the Elector Palatine. To the feudal lands the right of Albert and Wolfgang seemed incontestible; but Rupert and Elizabeth, having taken possession of her father's treasure, bad defiance to the collateral claim and the earnest exhortations of their sovereign; and they were warmly upheld in their contumacy by the Elector Palatine. Rupert and his father were, therefore, placed under the Ban of the Empire; and Maximilian took the field supported by the Swabian League[28] and many of the princes of Germany. In a battle near Ratisbon he greatly signalized his valour, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the rebels. Animated by his example, his troops fought steadily and successfully; and the well-disputed engagement terminated in the com-

War of Bavaria. 1504.

[27] Schmidt, ub. sup.

[28] It was on this occasion, that George von Freunsberg, or Fronsperg (afterwards so renowned a commander under Charles V.) first distinguished himself. His father was the first commandant of the Swabian League.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

plete defeat of the Palatine supporters. Rupert and Elizabeth died soon after this battle; and the Elector Philip, after an abortive attempt to prolong the contest, was finally compelled to lay down his arms. Albert and Wolfgang were invested with the fiefs of Duke George: the allodials were adjudged to the children of Rupert and Elizabeth: a portion, however, of the ducal estates and of the Palatinate was reserved to reimburse the Emperor and his allies; and the Elector Palatine no longer shone amongst the most powerful of the German princes.[29]

Peace. 1505.

Whilst Maximilian was engaged in the war of Bavaria, his son the Archduke Philip was eagerly enforcing his claim to the government of Castile, in virtue of his marriage with the princess Johanna. The exemplary life of Queen Isabella was terminated in 1504; and as her unfortunate daughter had long exhibited symptoms of a weak and disordered understanding, the Queen by her will declared Johanna her heir, but appointed her husband Ferdinand Regent of Castile, until the young Charles should attain the age of twenty.[30] Though Ferdinand dropped the title of King of Castile, and even caused Philip and Johanna to be proclaimed King and Queen, he persisted in retaining the government of the kingdom. The tyrannical disposition of the King of Aragon was too well understood by

The Archduke Philip proclaimed King of Castile. 1504.

[29] Struvius, p. 946.—Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 84.—Schmidt, Book VII. c. 31.—Coxe, vol. I. p. 460.

[30] Mariana, Lib. XXVIII. c. 11.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

the Castilians to permit their support; and Ferdinand, finding his claims to the government generally opposed by the nobles, reluctantly resigned the regency in favour of Philip. That prince did not long survive his triumph; and his widowed Queen being utterly incompetent to the government, a new dispute took place for the regency. Ferdinand again asserted his right; but Philip having left two sons Charles and Ferdinand, Maximilian set up his claim in behalf of his elder grandson, and was for a time supported by a strong party.[31]

His death. 1506.

Margaret of Austria Regent of the Netherlands. 1507.

The troubles of the Netherlands and his desire to secure that country induced Maximilian to abandon the Castilian contest. Ever since 1492, Charles d'Egmont, the grandson of Arnold, Duke of Gueldres, had persevered in asserting his right to the dutchy, in defiance of the houses of Burgundy and Austria. Notwithstanding the repugnance of many of the states to submit to the rule of Maximilian, the disturbed condition of the country, and the aggressions of d'Egmont on his neighbours, operated strongly in favour of the imperial claim. With the consent of the provinces he committed the administration of the Netherlands to his daughter Margaret; and that princess, by her wisdom and moderation, retained until her death the love and admiration of the people.[32]

The time was now arrived when Maximilian was

[31] Robertson's Charles V. Book I. c. 1.

[32] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 86.—Coxe, vol. II. p. 12.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

again to take part in the affairs of Italy; and the policy of Pope Julius II. gave him hopes of recovering the lost possessions of the Empire. That martial and ambitious Pontiff cherished as his darling project the expulsion of the French from Italy, and invited the King of the Romans to unite with him in this enterprise. On the ruin of Borgia, Venice had seized upon Faenza and Rimini: but though Julius was impatient at this aggression upon the States of the Church, the grand project predominated over every other consideration, and he resolved for the present to deal amicably with the Republic, whose co-operation against the French was of the utmost importance.[33] Maximilian, ever eager to embark in some new undertaking, and nowise reluctant to oppose his old antagonist Louis, resolved at once to march into Italy, and upon a suitable occasion to receive the imperial crown in Rome. He, therefore, assembled a Diet at Constance, and urging the States with the utmost powers of his eloquence, obtained from them a promise of troops and supplies necessary for his projected expedition. But this unusual compliance was but of a moment; the lukewarm Germans more readily listened to the pacific emissaries of France; and Maximilian had the mortification to find himself limited to twelve thousand men, which the States agreed to furnish for six months. He next negotiated with the Venetians for a passage through their dominions, which they could only be

[33] Daru, tom. III. p. 387.

induced to grant upon his undertaking to appear with not more than four thousand men. Even this humiliating condition was aggravated when he had crossed the Alps; and the Venetians retracted their permission for the passage of his little army, though he was respectfully informed, he himself would be allowed to pass through their territory on his way to Rome. Stung by this insulting conduct, Maximilian lost sight of his co-operation with the Pope; he put the Doge and the Senate under the Ban of the Empire,[34] and proceeded to possess himself by force of the Venetian territory in Friuli. But the junction of the French with the Venetians entirely baffled his hostile designs; and he was driven back into Germany, in the vain hope of soon returning with a more efficient force. The places he had seized in Friuli were immediately re-occupied by the troops of Venice; and by a strange oblivion of his injuries, he entered into a truce with the Republic for three years.[35] That his expedition into Italy might not appear wholly abortive, he obtained from the court of Rome a bull, confirming to him the title of EMPEROR-ELECT; and as a substitute for his coronation in the Vatican, he caused the bull of the Pope to be proclaimed with great pomp and rejoicing at Trent.[36] To Maximilian this papal concession profited nothing. The Electors had already conferred the title by

Second expedition of Maximilian into Italy; 1508.

He attacks the Venetians;

But retires to Germany;

He obtains the title of Emperor Elect.

[34] Struvius, p. 952.

[35] Daru, tom. III. p. 412.—Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 89.

[36] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 88.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

their election; but his successors adroitly availed themselves of this dispensation; and henceforth the elected sovereign of Germany assumed the title of Emperor without reference to Rome.[37]

[37] Charles V. was crowned in 1530 by Clement VII. at Bologna, both as King of Italy and Emperor: Prior, however, to this he had assumed the imperial title. And though Paul IV. refused to acknowledge Ferdinand I. on the abdication of Charles, Maximilian II. openly renounced all submission to the authority of the Pope. Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 192.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Prosperity of Venice. 1508.

THE power of Venice had now attained its meridian height; and the last triumph over the Emperor inflamed her pride and arrogance. Her wealth was enormous; in the Mediterranean she enjoyed a splendid territory; and her possessions on the main land of Italy had spread over Lombardy and Romagna. Her arsenal was justly esteemed one of the wonders of the world; her practised shipwrights constructed gallies far superior to those of other nations; and her sailors consisted chiefly of Candiots and Sclavonians, whose hardy frames were proof against fatigue, and whose experience completed the superiority of her navy.[1]

Venice, therefore, had little to apprehend from the enmity of any *single* state of Europe: and the situation and bias of the principal potentates appeared highly unfavourable to any union against her. The well-known enmity of the Emperor towards Louis XII. made a junction of those monarchs extremely unlikely; and the hatred of the Pope for

[1] Abbé Dubos, Hist. de la Ligue de Cambrai, tom. I. p. 3. Paris, 1785.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Cardinal d'Amboise, prime minister of France, seemed to preclude the pontiff's alliance with Louis. That Julius should unite with Ferdinand, King of Spain, was no less improbable; since the dangerous neighbourhood of the Neapolitan states naturally inclined the Popes to depress, rather than exalt, the power of the house of Aragon. Against Ferdinand the Emperor also entertained a hostile feeling, engendered in the struggle for the guardianship of the young Charles; and the loss of Naples by the treachery of the Spaniard, still rankled in the heart of the King of France.

But whilst the proud Republic was thus apparently secured by the dissensions of her various enemies, she suddenly found herself the object of a great and general league of the chief powers of Europe. Although the safety of Italy from her encroachments was the avowed design of the league, it was obvious that the several parties were swayed by private resentments and interested motives. Notwithstanding the truce which the Emperor had concluded with Venice, he no sooner found the nations of Europe arming against her, than he readily joined their confederacy. The bitterness of his late humiliation was increased by the insolent manner in which the Venetians celebrated their triumph. The Pope, already predisposed for the quarrel in respect of Faenza and Rimini, had lately been disgusted by the refusal of the Venetians to admit his nephew to the bishopric of Vicenza: The King of Aragon, no longer in want of their assist-

ance, was anxious for their expulsion from the maritime cities of Naples: The proximity to his new conquests in Lombardy made them suspicious neighbours to the King of France. These great potentates, therefore, actuated by different motives, determined upon the ruin of Venice, and agreed to divide the estates of the Republic amongst themselves. Of the justice of this measure there was little room for consideration: ambition, rapacity, and revenge were only intent on their common purpose; and Venice appeared doomed to destruction, from which little short of a miracle could preserve her.

League of Cambray.

At this moment Margaret of Austria and Cardinal d'Amboise met at Cambray, in order to arrange their differences with the Duke of Gueldres, who was on this occasion restored to his ancestral possessions.[2] But besides the avowed object of their meeting, they secretly treated, in the names of the Emperor and the King of France, for the projected attack upon Venice. The Cardinal, as legate of the Pope, undertook to ratify the treaty for Julius as well as for Louis; and the ambassador of Aragon anticipated his master's concurrence by affixing his name to the treaty. The matter was, however, kept profoundly secret; and the Venetian ambassador, who was then at Cambray, was so far beguiled by the arts of d'Amboise, that he repeatedly assured his government of the amicable sentiments of France towards the Republic.

[2] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 89.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

By the terms of this treaty, the Pope was to be put in possession of Faenza, Rimini, Cervia, Ravenna, and the other usurpations of Venice. The Emperor was to receive the march of Treviso, Istria, Friuli, and the estates appurtenant to the patriarchate of Aquileia, together with Padua, Vicenza, Verona and Roveredo. The King of France was to retain Bergamo, Brescia, Crema, Cremona, and the estates comprised between the Adda, the Oglio, and the Po. Lastly, the King of Spain was to take possession of the maritime cities of Naples, without repaying the money for which they had been mortgaged to Venice.[3] This iniquitous compact was the famous League of Cambray.

10th Dec. 1508.

Julius, however, soon repented of his participation in a measure which promised to overrun Italy with the troops of France; and the first certain intimation which Venice received of the league appears to have come from the Pope; who willing to reap advantage from the menaces of his allies, offered to detach himself from them, provided the Venetians would surrender Rimini and Faenza. But to this proposal the proud Republic refused to accede; and Julius prepared to attack them with his temporal and spiritual weapons. In April 1509 he put forth a bull, calling upon them to restore within twenty-four days the territory of the Church; and upon their non-compliance delivered them over to excommunication and interdict. The Venetians still undismayed steadily prepared for resistance;

Venice excommunicated. 1509.

[3] Dubos, p. 41 61.—Daru, tom. III. p. 425.

but had the mortification to find the Dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, the Marquis of Mantua, and the King of Hungary, declare themselves in favour of the league.[4]

The humiliation of Venice was as complete as it was rapid. A single engagement with the French overwhelmed them with despondency. Louis XII. at the head of an army, consisting of two thousand lances, six thousand Swiss, and twelve thousand French and Italians, with a numerous train of artillery, crossed the river Adda, and compelled the Venetians to give him battle near the village of Agnadello in the district of Ghiaradadda. After a severe and bloody conflict for three hours, the Venetian army, under the command of Bartolomeo d'Alviano, was entirely defeated, more than eight thousand men being left dead upon the field, and Alviano himself wounded and made prisoner. The King immediately followed up this success by occupying the places assigned to him by the league, and in a few days was in possession of Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, and other territories.

Battle of Ghiaradadda. 14th May. 1509.

In proportion to the overbearing confidence of the Venetians, so was now their desperation at the news of this decisive engagement. No hope seemed to remain except the preservation of their capital, and they at once resolved to appease the confederate powers by relinquishing their possessions upon Terra firma. The papal troops took possession without resistance of Faenza, Rimini, and

The Venetians abandon the Terra firma;

[4] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 90.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Ravenna; the imperial commanders, entering Friuli and Istria, occupied Trieste, Feltre, and Belluno; and the keys of Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, were presented to the plenipotentiary of the Emperor. The Duke of Ferrara seized on Rovigo with the Polesine; and the Marquis of Mantua recovered Asola and Lunatto, which had been wrested from his ancestor by the Venetians. In order to deprecate further disgrace, the Senate addressed the most humble supplications for peace to the Pope and the Emperor;[5] and propitiated the King of Aragon by withdrawing their garrisons from the maritime cities of Naples. But Julius was deaf to their petition for mercy; and although the States refused to participate in what they affected to consider the private quarrel of Maximilian, that prince resolutely rejected every offer of the Republic, and declined all negotiation which wanted the sanction of the King of France.[6]

They recover Padua; 18th June. 1509.

Venice was, however, fated to rise once more from her deep and sudden humiliation. The slenderness of the German garrison in Padua invited the Venetians to recapture that city: by a mixture of stratagem and force they succeeded in regaining possession; and, sensible of its vast importance, hastened to repair and improve the fortifications to the utmost of their power.[7] The loss of this city was keenly felt by Maximilian, who was now only

[5] See the speech of Giustiniani at length in Dubos, tom. I. p. 121.

[6] Guicciard. Lib. VIII. p. 240–250.—Pfeffel, p. 90.

[7] Histoire du Chevalier Bayard, par le loyal Serviteur, chap. XXX.

enabled to retain Vicenza and Verona, by the timely assistance of La Palisse the French general. A reinforcement from Louis XII., under some of his best commanders, encouraged the Emperor to attempt in person the recapture of Padua; and the Venetians, on the intimation of his design, threw into the city their whole force, amounting to more than twenty thousand men. The army of the besiegers was composed of Germans, French, Burgundians, Spaniards, and Italians; and was nearly four times as numerous as that of Venice. The preparations of Maximilian were most unusually strenuous; and his infantry alone were reckoned at fifty thousand. "He had," says a contemporary writer, "six hundred pieces of ordnance on wheels, the least of which was a falcon; and six large brass bombards, which could not be drawn on carriages, but were deposited on strong carts. When employed as a battery, they were placed upon the ground; and their mouths being elevated by a machine, a piece of wood was thrust under them; and behind them was constructed a stupendous mound,[8] for fear of their recoiling. These pieces carried bullets of stone, for metal was too heavy; and they could be discharged only four times a day at the most."[9]

The first attack of the Emperor was directed against the barriers facing Vicenza, which were carried after a severe conflict. Maximilian had been persuaded by his engineers that it was possible to divert the course of the Brenta; but the

[8] "Un merveilleux tandis." [9] Hist. de Bayard, chap. XXXII.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

work was unskilfully commenced, and the design at once abandoned. The fire of the artillery was now turned against the bastion nearest Venice; and before the tenth day from the investment twenty thousand balls had been discharged against the walls of Padua. Three breaches effected were soon converted into one, by which a thousand men abreast[10] might enter the city; two furious assaults of the infantry were vigorously repulsed; and in a third the Spaniards succeeded in planting the imperial standard over the fallen ramparts. But the explosion of a mine destroyed or scattered these valiant assailants; and the precipitous retreat of the survivors threw their friends into confusion.

Hitherto neither the French nor German cavalry had taken part in the assault; and Maximilian sent a message to La Palisse, requesting the aid of his *Gendarmerie*. But the dignity and chivalrous honour of the French knights forbad them to dismount, and enter the ranks with the ignoble soldiery. After in vain calling on his own cavaliers to set the example, the Emperor, foiled and disgusted by these unseasonable scruples, resolved to abandon the siege.[11] He suddenly quitted his army and retired to Vicenza; which city he immediately abandoned, and retreated into Germany. The triumph of Venice was increased by the capture of the Marquis of Mantua; and she regained without difficulty Vicenza, Feltre, and Belluno. But an

And Vicenza, &c

[10] "Où mille hommes pouvaient passer de front." Daru, tom. III p. 184.

[11] Daru, ub. sup.

attempt to seize Ferrara was severely punished by Duke Alfonso and his brother Cardinal Ippolito d'Este; and the Venetians were repulsed with the loss of more than two thousand men, having eighteen gallies destroyed or captured.[12]

Their defeat before Ferrara, 21st Dec.

The following year opened propitiously for Venice. Julius II. had been induced to join the league of Cambray solely by the desire of regaining the possessions of the Church: and, notwithstanding his alliance with France, never lost sight of his grand project, the expulsion of the *barbarians* from Italy. The possessions of the Church being now regained, the Pope resolved to check the victorious French; and Venice was invited to send her ambassadors to Rome, that she might be liberated from the weight of the ecclesiastical censures. The conditions on which absolution was to be granted were sufficiently galling, since they included an admission of the Pope's supreme authority in all ecclesiastical matters of the Republic, and the free navigation of the Gulph for all the subjects of the Church. Venice, however, prudently accepted these conditions; and her ambassadors were graciously received in Rome by Julius, who with great ceremony absolved the Republic from the censures of the Church.[13]

The Pope deserts the league. 1510.

Venice absolved. 24th Feb.

[12] Guicciard. Lib. VIII. p. 303.—Murat. Ann. 1509. Ariosto dwells with great complacency on this exploit of the cardinal (Orl. Fur. c. XXXVI. st. 2) and on his many virtues (c. XLVI. s. 85, 86.) But his character is stained by the cruelty with which he attempted to deprive his brother Fernando of his eyes; which attempt was baffled, according to Guicciardini, by the skill of the surgeons; the eyes being *riposti* senza perdita del lume nel luogo loro, per presta diligente cura dei medici. Lib. VII. p. 132.

[13] Guicciard. Lib. VIII. p. 317.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

The next attempt of the Pope was to reconcile Maximilian to Venice. But the elaborate eloquence of Louis Helian, the French ambassador,[14] before the Diet of Augsburg inflamed the rancour of the German princes against the Republic; and Julius could only console himself with learning that the Emperor had succeeded in extorting from the Diet no more than three hundred thousand florins, great portion of which had already been anticipated in preparations for attacking the Venetians. With the Swiss he was more successful; for the Cantons agreed to abandon Louis, and entered into the papal alliance. And as he had long meditated the seizure of the territories of Ferrara, he provoked a quarrel with Alfonso, under pretence that the Duke's salt works at Comachio were injurious to his own at Cervia.[15]

The Venetians lose Vicenza.

The campaign was opened by an attempt of the Venetians to capture Verona, which was wholly unsuccessful; and they were even compelled to abandon Vicenza at the approach of the French and German troops. The city narrowly escaped being delivered to the flames; and many of the inhabitants, who had quitted it with their treasure, underwent a cruel death. An ancient and extensive

[14] The Latin original of this bitter, and in many parts absurd, oration has been preserved, and is translated into French and printed by De la Houssaie, tom. II. p. 789.—The same orator was equally successful in dissuading the King of Hungary (Uladislaus VI. from entering into terms with Venice, and baffled all the negotiations of the Pope's nuncio and the Republic's ambassador. ibid. p. 820.

[15] Daniel, tom. VIII. p. 510.

cavern near Longara, full of intricate windings and obscure recesses, promised the fugitives an asylum. But the Germans, disappointed of their plunder in the city, got intelligence of this retreat, and immediately repaired to the cavern in quest of their booty. The narrowness of the entrance favoured the efforts of the refugees to exclude the enemy; and the Germans, enraged at this opposition, took a barbarous method of revenge. They filled up the cavern's mouth with bundles of straw and faggots; and setting fire to these, consigned about six hundred persons to the misery of suffocation. A youth of sixteen alone escaped death by retreating to the extremity of the cavern, where a small cranny in the mountain permitted the air to enter.[16]

The capture of Vicenza yielded little advantage to the French. The expected reinforcements from Germany did not make their appearance; and many of the imperial soldiers, unable to obtain their pay, deserted the allied army.[17] So lukewarm did Maximilian appear to have grown, that the offer of a sum of money tempted him to dispose of Verona to Louis. The transfer was, indeed, a mortgage; but Louis had little cause to fear the redemption of this important city by the indigent Maximilian. The capture of Legnago by the French was an alarming blow to the Venetians; but they were comforted by the vigorous proceedings of their new ally Pope Julius, who openly declared war against

And Legnago.

[16] Murat. Ann 1510.—Hist. de Bayard, chap. XL.

[17] Guicciard. Lib. IX. p. 24.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

France; endeavoured to make himself master of Genoa; thundered excommunication against the Duke of Ferrara; and created the Duke of Mantua, the late prisoner of the Venetians, Gonfalonier of the Church. Resolved to animate his forces by his presence, Julius quitted Rome, and threw himself into Bologna; where he ran the most imminent danger of falling into the hands of the French. Meanwhile Venice was every day gaining ground. The Germans abandoned Vicenza and retired to Verona; the Polesine and other territory were taken from the Duke of Ferrara; and Verona would probably have been captured, had not the Venetians been compelled to raise the siege by the treacherous desertion of the Swiss. Nothing could damp the ardour of the intrepid Pontiff. The fierceness of his wrath was directed against the Duke of Ferrara; and he led his army to the gates of Mirandola, to which he immediately laid siege. Notwithstanding his advanced age and the excessive severity of the winter, he appeared on horseback in the thickest of the danger; superintended the planting of the artillery; and directed the operations of the besiegers. The elements seemed to favour, rather than restrain, his audacity: the broad and deep ditches were blocked up with ice; the cannon effected two wide breaches in the wall; and the Countess Francesca, widow of Lodovico Pico, reluctantly submitted to surrender.[18]

Julius II. takes the field.

Vicenza retaken by the Venetians.

Capture of Mirandola by Julius II. 21st Jan. 1511.

[18] Julius restored the city to the rightful Lord, Gian-Francesco Pico, who had been expelled by his brother Lodovico. Art de vérif. tom. III. p. 706.

Julius disdained to enter the town by the open gates, but passed by a temporary bridge over the ditch, and took possession of Mirandola at one of the breaches; and after remaining ten days to recruit he retired to Ravenna, in the full determination of laying siege to Ferrara.[19] He was soon afterwards surprised in Bologna by the advance of the French; and distrustful of the fidelity of the Bolognese, he again withdrew to Ravenna. The exiled Bentivogli, who had accompanied the French, were received with rejoicing by their fellow-citizens, and the people testified their hatred for the Pope by destroying his statue, the magnificent work of Michael Angelo.[20]

Bologna taken by the French.

Never before was the order of things so completely reversed in the Empire and the Popedom. Whilst Julius was enacting the part of a general, and exposing himself to the tumults of the war, the King of France, in league with the King of the Romans, was diligently labouring for the assembly of a council, which might effect the desired reform in the Church, and condemn the Pope's unclerical proceedings. We are even assured that at this period the alarming illness of the Pope inspired Maximilian with the extraordinary desire of himself obtaining the papal tiara; and thus, like the ancient Cæsars, uniting the imperial and pontifical titles.[21]

[19] Histoire du Chev. Bayard, chap. XLIII. [20] Murat. Ann. 1511.

[21] This almost incredible whim of the Emperor is evidenced by a letter written in 1511 by himself to his daughter Margaret, during the dangerous illness of Julius II. It is given at length by Coxe, vol. II. p. 39. note. If this were the only evidence, we might certainly consider it as a "sportive

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Louis, who was troubled with scruples at bearing arms against the vicar of Christ, called together the prelates of France; and by their answers to a string of questions proposed, satisfied his conscience in opposing Julius. It was, therefore, settled between him and the Emperor, that a general council should be summoned. Pisa (which city since 1509 had again fallen into the hands of the Florentines) was fixed upon as the place of meeting, and Julius was summoned by a few hostile cardinals to attend the council. Though somewhat disconcerted by this measure, he in his turn intimated a council, to be held in Rome during the month of May in the following year, and menaced with excommunication those cardinals who dared to be present at Pisa. But he had little to fear from the threatened assembly. So indifferent were the imperial prelates to the injunctions of Maximilian, that not a single German bishop appeared at Pisa; and four cardinals and forty-two French bishops were the inconsiderable representatives of the christian Church. Even the place of their meeting had

Council of Pisa. 1st Nov. 1511.

effusion:" ex. gr. "I may succeed (he writes) to the papacy and become a priest, *and afterwards a saint*, that you may be bound to worship me, of *which I shall be very proud!*" Struvius, however, has given an extract from a letter of Maximilian to Paul of Lichtenstein, which puts the affair in a more serious light, p. 963. note 57. If this be genuine, we have the curious fact of the Emperor's attempting to gain the papacy by bribing the pontifical electors.—Mariana (Lib. XXX. c. 5) gravely mentions the design, stating that Maximilian was encouraged in it by the schismatical Cardinal Sanseverino. Pfeffel (tom. II. p. 93) speaks of it as an undoubted fact; and Schmidt (vol. IV. p. 457) does not choose to reject it. To this design of Maximilian and his letter to Paul of Lichtenstein, Ben Jonson refers in the "Staple of News," Act III. Scene I. "See but Maximilian," &c.

been unhappily chosen: the Florentines, as well as the Pisans, shewed the most undisguised hostility; and the fathers had already seen the expedience of removal, when a violent tumult between the French and the Pisans admonished their immediate retreat. The Council of Pisa was therefore first transferred to Milan, and afterwards expired at Lyons.[22] Nov. 15th.

Intent upon expelling the French from Italy, Julius prevailed on Ferdinand of Aragon to unite with him in arms; and Henry VIII. of England was also induced to join the confederacy, which was dignified by the title of the Holy League. A large body of Swiss was hired by the Pope, and ordered to burst into the Milanese, whilst Henry sent a force into Guienne. But these arrangements were dissipated by the mercenary perfidy of the Swiss,[23] who had no sooner entered Italy, than they were bribed to return to their mountains by Gaston de Foix, the French governor of Milan. Relieved from these troublesome intruders de Foix proceeded to the relief of Bologna, to which the papal forces had laid siege early in the year 1512. The Holy League. Siege of Bologna; 26th Jan. 1512.

Gaston de Foix, the nephew of Louis XII. though but twenty-three years of age, had already acquired extraordinary renown for his military skill and valour, and evinced a consummate judgment unsurpassed by the most experienced commanders. Before the besiegers were apprized of his arrival, de

[22] Guicciard. Lib. X. p. 180.—Daniel, tom. VIII. p. 564.—Art de vérif. tom. I. p. 213.

[23] This repeated tergiversation of the Swiss is gently termed by Planta (vol. II. p. 313.), "French seduction," as if the fault lay with the seducers.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Raised by Gaston de Foix. 6th Feb. 1512.

Foix contrived to introduce his army into Bologna; and the Spanish and papal allies immediately raised the siege, and precipitately retreated to Imola.[24] With equal promptitude Gaston flew to the recovery of Brescia, which, together with Bergamo, had again been occupied by the Venetians. Brescia was carried by assault and cruelly sacked by the French; and on this occasion the ferocity of the young commander is unfavourably contrasted with the humanity of the renowned Chevalier Bayard, the knight without fear and without reproach. Bergamo in terror opened her gates; and de Foix fell back upon Ravenna.[25]

Brescia sacked by the French.

Bergamo surrenders.

At the head of more than twenty thousand fighting men, and supported by Alfonso, Duke of Ferrara, Gaston de Foix marched to Ravenna, and turned his powerful train of artillery against the walls. But although a breach was effected, the valour of Marcantonio Colonna and the strength of the Italian garrison preserved the city from capture; and after a murderous contest on the ramparts, the French were compelled to desist from the attack. This resolute and successful defence greatly embarrassed the French commander: and his difficulty was not a little increased by the arrival of the papal and Spanish allies, who took up

[24] Murat. Ann. 1512.

[25] Murat. Ann. 1512.—Hist. du Chev. Bayard, chap. L. The loyal servant estimates the loss of the Venetians and Brescians in killed at more than twenty thousand, while the French lost about fifty men.—The booty, he adds, was estimated at three millions of crowns; and he attributes the subsequent misfortunes of the French to the defection of those, who having thus enriched themselves returned to France.

their station about three miles from Ravenna, and strengthened their position by throwing up intrenchments with extraordinary celerity. It was evident that the generals of the allied force were desirous to avoid an engagement; but the extreme scarcity which pervaded the French camp made it of the last consequence to de Foix to bring them without delay to an action. He, therefore, resolved upon the hazardous experiment of attacking the trenches of the allies; who, by the advice of the Spanish general, Pedro of Navarre, sustained the enemies' fire without attempting to grapple with their assailants. But the Duke of Ferrara having placed his heavy artillery on a position which commanded the intrenchment, a tremendous fire was poured down upon the allies, which in a few minutes swept away about two thousand men and five hundred horses. Fabrizio Colonna, impatient of this murderous exposure, and reproaching the Spaniard for his inactivity, rushed out upon the French, and was followed by the cavalry and all the Spanish infantry.[26] A general engagement immediately took place; and this memorable day surpassed all that man could remember by the valour of the combatants and the immensity of the slaughter. After a contest of eight hours, the artillery of Ferrara turned the fate of the battle, and the papal and Spanish armies were completely routed. The whole of their artillery, and the greater part of their standards and baggage, fell into the hands of the

Battle of Ravenna. Easter-day. 1512.

[26] Guicciard. Lib. X. p. 537.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

conquerors. The loss of killed on the side of the allies amounted to eight hundred men at arms, thirteen hundred light cavalry, and seven thousand infantry. Amongst the prisoners were the Cardinal-legate, Giovanni de' Medici; Fabrizio Colonna; Ferdinando d' Avalos, Marquis of Pescara; Pedro of Navarre; and many Spanish officers of distinction. But this triumph was dearly bought by the French and Germans. Of these there fell seven hundred men at arms, eight hundred and eighty archers, and nine thousand infantry, with many eminent commanders, including the young and gallant de Foix, who was shot dead in the very moment of victory, whilst pursuing some fugitive Spaniards.[27]

Death of Gaston de Foix.

The immediate consequence of this battle was the surrender of Ravenna to the French. The city was for a time exposed to the rapacity of the Gascons, until an example was made by the French general La Palisse, who by the execution of some of the offenders repressed the licentiousness of the soldiery. The news of the victory spread consternation through Romagna. The cities of Faenza, Cervia, Imola, Cesina, Rimini, and Forli, sent their keys to the French camp; and even Julius, no longer deeming himself safe in Rome, began to prepare for escape. But a more complete and accurate account of the battle, which was brought by Giulio de' Medici, convinced him that he had little

Romagna submits to the French.

[27] Murat. Ann. 1512.—Guicciardini estimates the loss of both sides at only ten thousand men. This Muratori thinks must be a misprint. Father Daniel, however follows Guicciardini. Tom. VIII. p. 596.

to fear from the conquerors of Ravenna. Their loss had been too severe to permit their further conquests, and the Swiss were once more ready to attack them. Maximilian by a bribe from Julius had been induced to break his alliance with Louis, and conclude a truce with Venice; and in obedience to his commands four thousand German troops deserted from the French.[28] The Pope, therefore, proceeded without interruption to open the Council of the Lateran, which at once annulled the proceedings of the abortive council of Pisa.[29]

Fifth Council of the Lateran. 3d May. 1512.

Julius judged rightly of the event. The great loss of the French by death and desertion, and the dread of an attack from the Swiss, determined the French commander to withdraw to Milan. Cremona shook off the yoke of France, and city after city followed her example. Nor did it seem possible longer to hold Milan in subjection. That versatile state, after twice bending the neck to Louis, a second time grew weary of his government; and greedily listened to the proposal of the Pope to set upon the throne Massimiliano Sforza, son of their late Duke Lodovico. Full of this project the people of Milan rose simultaneously to avenge the cruelties of the French; the soldiers and merchants remaining in the city were plundered, and about fifteen hundred put to the sword. The retreating army was harassed by the Lombards, and severely galled by the Swiss; and after encountering the greatest difficulties, the French crossed the Alps,

The French expelled Milan.

[28] Murat. Ann. [29] Dubos, Hist. de la Ligue, tom. II. p. 147.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

having preserved none of their conquests in Lombardy except the citadel of Milan, and a few other fortresses. Bologna and the towns of Romagna again swore allegiance to the Pope; Parma and Placentia also gave themselves to Julius; and Genoa, ever fond of change, revolted from Louis, and resumed her ducal government.

Massimiliano Sforza enters Milan. 15th Dec. 1512.

At the close of the year, Massimiliano Sforza made his triumphal entry into Milan, with the most extravagant ebullitions of delight on the part of the people. But a new rupture between the Pope and Venice had already interrupted the harmony of the allies. Julius, anxious to convert the truce which had been effected between the Emperor and the Republic into a permanent peace, proposed that Maximilian should retain Verona and Vicenza, and receive an annual tribute for Padua, Treviso, and Friuli. The Venetians rejected the proposal with disdain; and the Pope, provoked at their stubborn refusal, entered into a new league with the Emperor and the King of Aragon, from which Venice was expressly excluded.[30]

Rupture between the Pope and Venice.

[30] Guicciard. Lib. XI. p. 306.—Murat. Ann.—Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 94.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

EXPEDITION OF FRANCIS I. KING OF FRANCE INTO ITALY. DEATH OF MAXIMILIAN. ELECTION AND CORONATION OF CHARLES V.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

1512.

Pope Julius II. had now the satisfaction of seeing his favourite project realized in Italy. The French were expelled the country. But if in the sweeping and indefinite term *Barbarians* he included all save the Italians, the great work was still unfinished, and it remained to chase the Spaniards from the fairest of the Italian regions. According to some accounts, this was in his contemplation; and he had resolved on the first opportunity to deprive the house of Aragon of their Neapolitan dominions: yet with their King he had formed an alliance; with their troops he had fought against the common enemy; and he now applied for their assistance to avenge a private injury.

Affairs of Florence.

Indignant at the presumption of Pietro Soderini, Gonfalonier of Florence, who had authorized the assembly of the hostile council at Pisa, Julius resolved to overthrow the popular government, and restore the Medici to their native city. Florence had acquired but little tranquillity by the expulsion of the sons of Lorenzo; and the people were

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

hurried away by the vehement harangues of Savonarola, a fanatical Dominican Friar, who headed a predominant faction called *Frateschi*, which was opposed by a more aristocratical party, the *Compagnacci*. For a time the friar and his adherents reigned in Florence; but the zeal with which he had attacked the iniquities of Pope Alexander, and the explosion of his pretensions to prophecy and inspiration, led to his ruin and execution. After
1498. four years of internal dissension the Florentines concurred in choosing Soderini, a virtuous but weak man, Gonfalonier for life. Against him the enmity
1502. of the Pope was now directed. Julius engaged the services of Cardona, viceroy of Naples, who commanded the Spanish forces in Italy; and who accordingly marched into Tuscany, and summoned the Florentines to expel their Gonfalonier, and reinstate the exiled Medici.[1] Though the people were well inclined to re-admit the members of this illustrious family, they were little disposed to remodel their government at the command of a foreign force. They, therefore, sent a peremptory refusal to the summons, and resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity. Meanwhile the Spanish army, consisting of more than five thousand men, lay encamped in the plain of Prato

[1] Guicciard. Lib. II. p. 165.—Lib. III. p. 117.—Lib. V. p. 295.—The English reader will find an account of this friar, and the detection of his grand attempt at imposture, in Roscoe's Lorenzo de' Medici, vol. II. p. 266. Bayle has a long and elaborate article upon this pretended prophet, who, however, appears to have had a surprising influence over the sagacious Philip de Comines. See Memoires, Liv. VIII. c. 10–13.

and as provisions began to fail them, that ill-garrisoned city might tremble at the presence of a half-famished enemy. Cardona on this occasion evinced great moderation; he suppressed his demand for the expulsion of Soderini; and offered to withdraw his troops from before Prato, provided the Florentines would consent to re-admit the Medici as citizens, to pay him a sum of money not exceeding thirty thousand ducats, and to relieve the wants of his army by a supply of provisions. But as Soderini delayed in returning any answer, and the calls of hunger were growing intolerable, the Spaniards could no longer be restrained from attacking Prato, which offered but a feeble resistance. Intent upon plunder the soldiers burst into the devoted town, and scenes of rapine and bloodshed were enacted, which might well affix *barbarian* to the Spanish name. According to some writers, five thousand citizens and soldiers were promiscuously slaughtered; and neither the chastity of the women, nor the sanctity of the churches, was respected by the ferocious invaders. The terrible fate of Prato at once completed the revolution of Florence. Soderini was compelled to fly the city; and the Medici were restored, not only to their rights as citizens but, to the government of the state. As formerly the banishment and recall of Cosimo had shaken the liberties of the Republic, so now the restoration of his descendants quickly led to the abolition of the popular power.[2] All traces

Revolution in Florence. 31st Aug. 1512.

The Medici restored.

[2] Guicciard. Lib. X. and Lib. XI. p. 289.—Murat. Ann. 1512.—Roscoe's Leo X. vol. II. p. 149.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

of the ancient and venerable constitution were obliterated in the various reforms which had taken place since the reign of the magnificent Lorenzo; and twenty years after the re-admission of his surviving sons,[3] a bastard of the house of Medici reigned as *Duke* in Florence.[4]

Whilst Julius was meditating measures against Venice and the Duke of Ferrara, he learned that the King of France was once more about to try his fortune in Italy. During the late campaign, Ferdinand of Naples had seized upon Navarre, whose king was the kinsman of Louis; and Henry VIII. of England was preparing to invade France for the recovery of the lost possessions of the English crown. Notwithstanding these calls at home, the recapture of Milan lay too near the heart of Louis to be abandoned; and the quarrel of the Pope with Venice gave him sanguine hopes of succeeding by the co-operation of that republic. An unexpected event occurred at this period. In the month of February 1513 the Pope was seized with a fever, which terminated his life in the course of a few days. The character of Julius requires little comment: the qualities of his mind, which scorned

Death of Julius II. 21st Feb. 1513.

[3] Giovanni and Giuliano; Piero was drowned in the Garigliano in 1503. Ante, p. 305. note.

[4] It was assumed that the father of Alexander, first Duke of Florence, was of the house of Medici, though much disputed who that father was. Both Lorenzo, son of Piero, and Giulio, afterwards Clement VII. have had the honour of being named (See Galluzzi, Istoria del Granducato, Introd. p. 65); but as the mother of Alexander admitted to her favours a carrier in the service of the family, the illustrious descent of the Grand-Duke becomes problematical. See Pignotti, Lib. V. c. 6. tom. IX. p. 63.

dissimulation,[5] are best appreciated by his public conduct; those vehement passions which prudence may screen from the open day were with him the springs of every action; nor need we be told that the Pontiff, who in a sanguinary war aspired to the renown of a general, was not remarkably adapted to fill the office of Vicar of Christ upon earth. In private life his besetting sin is said to have been immoderate indulgence in wine; which might probably be the cause, or effect, or both, of his ardent temperament and perpetual excitement. Without professing to be a patron of literary men, he was ever ready to encourage learning; and the arts must confess themselves largely indebted to him, who stimulated the genius of Michael Angelo and Rafaelle, and originated the design of Bramante for rebuilding the dilapidated church of St. Peter. Of this stupendous, this surpassing triumph of modern architecture, Julius himself laid the first stone, on the 18th of April 1506.[6]

Leo X. 1513-1521.

The successor of Julius II. was Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, the second son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. After being expelled from Florence and wandering in exile, he had been made prisoner at the battle of Ghiaradadda; but effecting his escape returned to his native city, on the restoration of his family in 1512. Though not thirty-

[5] See, however, Hist. de la Ligue, tom. II. p. 115. The author attributes the Reformation to the unclerical proceedings of Julius; "le plus grand malheur qui soit arrivé à l'Europe depuis sa dévastation par les peuples du Nord, même à ne le regarder q'avec les yeux de la chair." tom. II. p. 212.

[6] Fea, Descriz. di Roma, p. 15.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

seven years of age he found favour in the eyes of the Conclave, and the chair of St. Peter had never been mounted by so young a pontiff since the days of Innocent III. Equally ambitious with his predecessor Julius, he was moreover rapacious and perfidious; and his energies were directed to aggrandise his relatives rather than to secure the territories of the holy see. Finding Louis XII. still adhere to his design of invading Milan notwithstanding his earnest dissuasions, Leo X. (such was the title assumed by Giovanni) joined in a league with the Emperor and the Kings of Aragon and England, for the support of the Duke Massimiliano Sforza against the attempt of the King of France. He also took into pay a large body of Swiss; and despatched Prospero Colonna to Milan, where a strong spirit of disaffection had begun to prevail against the feeble Duke. These allies of the Pope were scarcely to be relied on. The repeated perfidy of the Swiss made them dangerous friends; and the crafty Ferdinand was as little to be trusted. Maximilian, as usual, was eager to undertake and slow to execute; and the King of England could do nothing but harass France by invading her coasts during the absence of her King.

On the other hand, a league had been concluded between Louis and the Venetians, which threatened to be more effectual, by completing the second conquest of Milan with even greater facility than the first. An overwhelming army crossed the Alps under the command of Trémouille and Gian-

The French invade Milan.

Giacomo Trivulzio, and in a short space of time nothing was left to the Duke of Milan, save the towns of Como and Novara. About the same time the French fleet attacked Genoa, a new insurrection drove out the Doge Giano Fregoso, and vested the government in Antonio Adorno on behalf of the King of France. But these rapid acquisitions were as rapidly lost. The gallantry of the Swiss restored the disordered affairs of the Milanese, and by their resolute defence of Novara annulled the successes of the French. Whilst the cannon of Louis were battering the walls of the city, the Swiss insultingly threw open the gates, and bad the besiegers observe that they needed no other ramparts than their own prowess and energies. Being joined by an expected body of eight thousand of their countrymen under Mottin,[7] they resolved to await no further succours; and though wholly unprovided with either cavalry or artillery, they boldly marched up in face of the French cannon, which inflicted terrible destruction on their advancing numbers. Their undaunted resolution triumphed; they became masters of the artillery; and the French, after a desperate struggle of many hours, at length gave way and fled.[8] They precipitately abandoned the Milanese; and Genoa,

Battle of Novara. 6th June. 1513.

The French abandon the Milanese.

[7] Guicciardini calls him Mottino, and the Abbé Dubos, Motin, which Planta informs us is a misnomer: he does not, however, favour us with his true name. Paulus Jovius, who minutely describes the battle (Lib. XI.), calls him Jacobus Mottinus è Torfano Altorf), and names him amongst the slain.

[8] Murat. Ann. 1513.—Planta, vol. II. p. 327.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

for the fifth time rebelling from France, chose for her Doge Ottaviano Fregoso.[9] Thus the troops of Louis were once again chased from Italy; and he was himself too much occupied at home by the aggressions of the English immediately to return to his favourite enterprise.

The troops of his Venetian allies were equally unsuccessful. The Spanish forces under Cardona prevented their junction with the French; and by the united power of the Imperialists and Spaniards, Venice was again stripped of her possessions on the mainland, excepting Padua, Treviso, and a few places in Friuli. Nothing could exceed the misery to which the inhabitants of those districts were subjected by this cruel warfare. The conquerors unsparingly laid waste the rich country; the peasantry were driven from their burning habitations; the splendid mansions of the Venetian nobles on the Brenta were plundered and destroyed; and Venice was affrighted by the conflagrations of the opposite shore, and by the thunders of the Spanish cannon which were pointed against her towers.[10]

Losses of Venice.

Whilst the Venetians were thus afflicted, their ally the King of France was also threatened with

[9] The Lanterna, which on this last occasion was restored to the French, was taken from them in the following year, and destroyed. Guicciard. Lib. XII. p. 39.—Her five revolts are of the following dates;

1409. Revolts from Charles VI. submits to Charles VII. 1458.
1461. ——— Charles VII. ——— to Louis XII. 1499.
1506. ——— Louis XII. ——— 1507.
1512. ——— 1513.
1513. ——— Francis I. 1515.

[10] Daniel, tom. VIII. p. 631.—Dubos, p. 276.—Daru, tom. III. p. 613.

severe calamity. The long preparations of Henry VIII. of England for the invasion of France being completed, that king, in the summer of 1513, landed at Calais, whither a great part of his army had already been transported. The offer of an hundred thousand golden crowns easily persuaded the Emperor to promise his assistance, at the head of a body of Swiss and Germans. But at the moment Henry was about to penetrate into France, he received the excuses of Maximilian, who notwithstanding a large advance received from England, found himself unable to levy the promised succours. Nothing disheartened by this breach of faith, the King of England had already advanced into Artois; when the Emperor, attended by a few German nobles, appeared in the English camp, and was cordially welcomed by Henry, who duly appreciated his military skill and local knowledge.[11] A valuable accession of strength was also obtained by the junction of a large body of Swiss, who encouraged by the victory of Novara had already crossed the Jura, and now marched to the seat of war. The poverty of the Emperor degraded him to the rank of a mercenary of England; and Henry consented to grant him the daily allowance of an hundred crowns for his table. But humiliating as this compact was to Maximilian, the King of England reaped great benefit from his presence. A promiscuous multitude of Germans had flocked to the English camp, in hopes of partaking in the spoil;

The English invade France.

Maximilian serves under Henry VIII. King of England.

[11] Struvius, p. 966.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

and the arrival of their valiant Emperor excited a burst of enthusiasm. The siege of Terouenne was formed: but the bravery of the besieged baffled the efforts of the allies; and a month elapsed, during which the English sustained severe loss from frequent and successful sorties. By the advice of the Emperor, Henry resolved to risk a battle with the French, and the plain of Guinegate was once more the field of conflict. This spot, where Maximilian had formerly struck terror into the legions of Louis XI., now became the scene of a rapid and undisputed victory. The French were surprised by the allies and gave way to a sudden panic; and the shameful flight of the cavalry abandoned the bravest of their leaders to the hands of their enemies. The Duke of Longueville, La Palisse, Imbercourt, and the renowned Chevalier Bayard, were made prisoners; and the ridicule of the conquerors commemorated the inglorious flight by designating the rout as the *Battle of the Spurs*. The capture of Terouenne immediately followed; and the fall of Tournay soon afterwards opened a splendid prospect to the King of England.[12]

Victory of Guinegate.

The Swiss invade Burgundy.

Meanwhile the safety of France was threatened in another quarter. A large body of Swiss, levied

[12] Paulus Jovius, Lib. XI. p. 100.—Rapin, tom. V. p. 69.—Daniel, tom. VIII. p. 640.—Hume, vol. III. p. 434.—Sismondi, tom. XIV. p. 327.—Coxe's house of Austria, vol. II. p. 45.—Mr. Roscoe states (Leo X. vol. II. p. 211.) that Henry gave Terouenne to Maximilian, "who razed its *foundations*, and Terouenne has since been blotted from the map of Europe." But Maximilian only dismantled the fortifications; and it remained for his grandson Charles V. to demolish the town. See Robertson, vol. III. p. 286. 4to. Edit. 1769.

in the name of Maximilian but paid with the gold of the Pope, burst into Burgundy; and Dijon was with difficulty saved from capture. From this danger, however, France was extricated by the dexterous negotiation of Trémouille; and the Swiss were induced to withdraw by a promise of receiving from the King of France four hundred thousand dollars. But the Swiss eventually found Louis nowise inclined to fulfil a compact made by his general without his sanction; and they had the further mortification to discover, that the hostages delivered as security were of the very dregs of the people, whom the crafty Trémouille had dignified by high-sounding names, and clad in costly apparel.[13]

Peace between Louis XII. and the Pope, &c. 1514.

Louis now became seriously desirous of peace. He made overtures to the Pope, and was received into favour upon consenting to renounce the Council of Pisa. He conciliated the Kings of Aragon and England by proposals of marriage; he offered his second daughter Renée to the young Charles of Spain; and his second Queen, Anne of Bretainy, being now dead, he proposed to unite himself with Mary of England, the favourite sister of Henry. Nor could this stop to the career of the King of England displease the Emperor, whose own dominions in the Netherlands lay temptingly near the conquests of his ally. But though peace was made upon this footing, the former of the projected marriages never took place: the latter, however,

[13] Struvius, p. 966.—Dubos, Hist de la Ligue, tom. II. p. 290.—Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 415.—Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 101.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

was magnificently solemnized, and proved fatal to Louis. The amorous King forgot his advanced age in the arms of his young and beautiful bride; his constitution gave way under the protracted festivities consequent on his nuptials; and on the 1st of January 1515, Louis XII. was snatched from his adoring people, in his fifty-third year.[14] He was succeeded by his kinsman and son-in-law, Francis, Count of Angoulême, who stood next in hereditary succession; and was reputed one of the most accomplished princes that ever mounted the throne of France.

Death of Louis XII. 1515.

Francis I. King of France. 1515-1547.

Though Leo X. affected great desire for a general peace, it was soon manifest that his grand object was the enriching of his own relations at the expense of the Italian princes. His first attempt was to establish a principality in favour of his brother Giuliano, in violation of the rights of the Duke of Ferrara. Immediately upon the death of Julius, Parma and Placentia had been occupied by Cardona, in the name of the Duke of Milan; but were restored to the holy see on the election of Leo. The city of Reggio had also been seized by Julius; and the Duke of Ferrara in vain represented to the Pope the ancient title of his family to that territory. Leo evaded the Duke's demand by a solemn promise that Reggio should be restored to him before a given day. Far, however, from intending to fulfil

[14] Daniel, tom. VIII. p. 654.—He fell into late hours: instead of dining, as usual, at *eight* A. M. he postponed his dinner till noon: and instead of retiring at *six* P. M. he sometimes sat up till midnight. Hist. du Chev. Bayard, chap. LVIII.

his undertaking, the treacherous Leo was eagerly watching his opportunity to wrest Ferrara from Alfonso.[15] The needy Emperor was easily persuaded to assign over Modena for forty thousand ducats, without regard to the rights of his vassal the Duke of Ferrara; and the Pope was about to complete his design of uniting Parma, Placentia, Reggio, and Modena, into his brother's principality. To secure himself against any attempt by the new King of France, he entered into a fresh league with the Swiss, whom he now regarded as the surest defenders of the north of Italy.[16] 9th Dec. 1514.

Francis I. at once intimated his views, by assuming, with the title of King of France, that of Duke of Milan. Burning with all the ardour of youthful enterprise, he was soon at the head of a powerful army, in which the lances alone amounted to four thousand, or twenty thousand horsemen. Leo, alarmed at these preparations, endeavoured to stir up the Christian powers against the young King, representing him as an heretic and professed enemy of God's Church, whose great object in crossing the Alps was the overthrow of the holy see. By his instigation, Matthew Schinner, Cardinal of Sion, exerted the eloquence he so largely possessed in impressing the Swiss with the conviction of the heresy of Francis; and by an animated appeal to these mercenary warriors, he inlisted their superstition as the guard of their fidelity. The Pope was further fortified by a new league with the Emperor and the King of

[15] Guicciard. Lib. XII. p. 40. [16] Muratt. Ann. 1514. 1515.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Aragon; whilst, on the other hand, Francis formed an alliance with the Venetians, and obtained assurances of friendship from the Infant, Charles of Spain, who had good reason to hate his grandfather Ferdinand. Before he undertook his expedition by land, Francis despatched a force by sea against Genoa; and the Doge Ottaviano timidly or treacherously surrendered the city to the French.

Genoa submits to Francis. 1515.

Francis I. invades Italy.

Francis I. was soon upon his march towards the Alps. To oppose his entrance into Italy, the Swiss were stationed in the ordinary passes; and Prospero Colonna was sent by the Pope into Piedmont, to be in readiness to assist the Swiss upon the first intimation of the approach of the King of France. In their various expeditions into Italy the French had usually taken the pass over the Mont Genevre, or Cottian Alps. But understanding that the Swiss were already posted here to receive him, Francis resolved to attempt a route hitherto deemed impracticable. The passage of Francis is in modern, what the passage of Hannibal is in ancient, history. The King, it is true, chose a more clement season than the Carthaginian; but the difficulties of the former were proportionably great by the necessity of transporting his artillery. In his generals he was extremely fortunate. The experience of Trivulzio was invaluable; and Pedro of Navarre, no longer the prisoner of the French, was remarkable for his skill as an engineer. Whilst the main army proceeded slowly from Grenoble, and having forded the Durance marched on to Embrun, Trivulzio

went forward to explore, and on his return announced to the King the possibility of effecting a passage between the Cottian and the Maritime Alps.[17] Under the guidance of that general the ascent of the Alps was commenced on the 10th of August 1515. A large body of pioneers preceded the army for the purpose of making way for the guns; and by their exertions the artillery and the men passed the first ridge of mountains, and descended into the valley of Barcelonette. Hence with incredible labour the guns were transferred, either on men's shoulders or by the means of pullies, from rock to rock, and the army descended into the valley of Argentiere. Continuing with unwearied patience their extraordinary exertions, they descended safely into the plain of Saluzzo, five days after they had commenced the ascent. So admirably and secretly was this memorable march conducted, that the Swiss who were stationed at Susa were utterly unaware of the French having entered Italy; and Prospero Colonna, who with his officers was at dinner at Villafranca, was surprised and made prisoner by a body of French cavalry. Francis proceeded with his army to Turin, where he was received with great honour by Charles III. Duke of Savoy.[18]

His passage over the Alps.

He arrives in Piedmont.

[17] Guicciard. Lib. XII. p. 66.

[18] Paulus Jovius, Lib. XV. p. 169.—Guicciard. Lib. XII. p. 67.—Thuanus, Lib. I. p. 12.—Hist. de Bayard, ch. LIX.—Murat. Ann. 1515.—The route of Francis is minutely traced by Jovius; and I own my inability to give the names of some of the places his pedantry has chosen to disguise in Latin of his own. The troops passed from Gratianopolis (Grenoble) to Vigilia (Vizille);

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Whilst the French were thus making good their descent into Italy, the Venetians, under their former general Alviano, rushed upon Cremona, and occupied that city in the name of the King of France.[19] Francis, also, without difficulty became master of Novara and Pavia, and advanced into the vicinity of Milan. Disheartened by the success of the King and the capture of Prospero Colonna, the Swiss began to waver in their resolution; and a negotiation was entered into, through the Duke of Savoy, to induce them to accept a bribe, and return to their own country. The greatest discord prevailed amongst themselves, and the majority were about to declare for retreat, when the Cardinal of Sion again appeared amongst them, and by an impassioned address succeeded in restoring their resolution. Animated with new courage they rushed forward to the camp of Francis near Marignano; where they found the enemy, already apprized of their approach, and drawn up in array to receive them. The contest was fiercely commenced; but the day being far spent, night suspended the general engagement; and enveloped in darkness the hostile

Battle of Marignano. 13th Sept.

to Mura (La Mure); from Eburodunum (Embrun) to the Alpine villages of St. Clement and St. Crispin. Leaving the Mons Genebra (Mont Genevre) on the left, they forded the river Druentia (Durance), and encamped at Gilestra (Guillestre); and having crossed the Mons Aualtius ( ) came to the Rock of St. Paul. Next day they descended into the valley Barcellonia (Barcelonette). They at length arrived in the valley Argentaria (Argentiere); and next day at Larchia ( ) and Ebergia ( ) villages in the valley of Asturia (La Sture), where they levelled the Mons Pedeporcius (Mont Pied de Porc); and thence by Avenna ( ) and Sambucum ( ) arrived in the jaws of Italy.

[19] Murat. Ann. 1515.

armies passed the night upon the field together. The King, refreshed by a short repose on the carriage of a gun, made diligent use of this interval, to assign to his leaders their posts and station his artillery on the most favourable position. At the first glimmering of the dawn, the air resounded with the noise of trumpets, drums, and cannon, and the battle was recommenced with the utmost fury. The Swiss fought like lions; nor was the valour of the King at the head of his troops less conspicuous. After a conflict of four hours, victory had already declared for the French, when Alviano arrived with a small detachment upon the field; and by loud shouts of *Marco!* (the war-cry of Venice), filled the Swiss with the notion that they were attacked by the whole body of the Venetians. They now only thought of retreating in good order; and though severely galled by the French cavalry, the main body succeeded in reaching Milan. But a corps of twelve hundred, who still maintained themselves in a village, were surrounded by the enemy; and the village being set on fire, its brave defenders perished in the flames. They had nobly sustained the conflict; the French purchased the victory with the loss of five thousand slain; and the veteran Trivulzio was heard to exclaim, that the many battles he had hitherto seen had been the fights of children, but this was the war of giants. Immediately after this great victory the King of France was knighted on the field by the irreproachable Chevalier Bayard.[20]

[20] Hist. de Bayard, ch. LX.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

This battle, which dispelled the belief of the invincibility of the Swiss, at once determined the fate of Lombardy. Milan and the other cities sent their keys to the conqueror, and nothing was left to the unfortunate Duke except the citadels of Milan and Cremona. The terrified Pope immediately made overtures to the King, and agreed to surrender Parma and Placentia, in consideration of a pension to be granted to his brother Giuliano and another to his nephew Lorenzo de' Medici. The viceroy Cardona, finding himself abandoned by the Pope, quietly returned to Naples; and Charles, Duke of Bourbon, whom Francis had nominated governor of Milan, soon brought Massimiliano Sforza to terms. That shadow of the greatness of his family, who owed his miserable splendour to the precarious protection of the Swiss, was happy to escape from the perplexities of sovereignty. He gladly accepted the offer of Francis, which secured to him an asylum in France and an ample pension; and by a treaty with the King he gave up his last possessions, the Castles of Milan and Cremona. The Venetians also took possession of Bergamo; Brescia, however, still refused to yield; and as the winter was now fast approaching they were content to turn the siege into a blockade.

Conquest of Milan.

5th October.

Massimiliano Sforza retires into France.

Interview between the Pope and Francis I. in Bologna.

In the middle of December a meeting was effected between the Pope and the King of France at Bologna; and the latter strenuously urged the restoration of Reggio and Modena to his ally the Duke of Ferrara, which Leo reluctantly promised to grant on re-imbursement of the money he had

paid to the Emperor for the latter city. Leo on this occasion prevailed on the young King to concede an important point, the abolition of the Pragmatic Sanction of France, that bulwark of the liberties of the Gallican church. After the Council of Basle had decreed that the authority of a general council was superior to the Pope, this Sanction, or édict, was promulgated in France, by which the doctrine of Basle was adopted, the nomination by the Pope to the French benefices abrogated, and the papal bulls declared null in France unless fortified by the approval of the king. To obtain the repeal of this sanction, so prejudicial to the authority of Rome, had been repeatedly attempted by successive Popes; and Louis XI. had deluded Pius II. by agreeing to abolish the obnoxious decree.[21] But what the crafty tyrant Louis had only dared to tamper with, the gallant Francis at once abolished; and in lieu of the Pragmatic Sanction, he received from the Pope a *Concordat*, by which the elections to benefices were transferred to the king. This invasion of the liberties of the church excited loud murmurs in France: the parliament of Paris pertinaciously refused to register the abolition; and were at last only induced to comply on its being expressly stated, that the registration had been made at the reiterated command of the King.[22]

Abolition of the French Pragmatic Sanction.

Covered with all the honour of victory, Francis

[21] Daniel, tom. VII. p. 159.—Anquetil, tom. IV. p. 212.

[22] Guicciard. Lib. XII. p. 94.—Daniel, tom. IX. p. 61–69.—Anquetil, tom. V. p. 265.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

returned to his kingdom at the close of the year. The perfidious Leo, instead of restoring Reggio and Modena to the Duke, appeared more anxious than ever to rob him of Ferrara:[23] nor were his rapacious designs checked by the death of his brother Giuliano in the following year. Having ceded Parma and Placentia to the King of France, and being unable to obtain from the Emperor the investiture of Reggio and Modena, he seized upon the dutchy of Urbino, and iniquitously depriving the Duke Francesco-Maria della Rovere of his territories, conferred them upon his own nephew Lorenzo de' Medici.[24]

Francis returns to France.

Leo seizes the dutchy of Urbino. 1516.

After remaining inactive whilst Lombardy was yielding to the French, Maximilian no sooner beheld the completion of the conquest, than he began to rouse himself to recover the loss, which his earlier exertion might have prevented. Brescia still held out against the Venetians; and Verona was also occupied by Marcantonio Colonna and the papal forces. Having at length collected an army composed chiefly of Swiss, the Emperor proceeded to Trent, and in a short time reduced Charles of Bourbon, governor of Milan, to great extremities. But Maximilian gave a respite to the French by imprudently wasting his time in besieging an unimportant castle, and the Duke was reinforced by the

Third expedition of Maximilian into Italy.

[23] Murat. Ann. 1515.

[24] Murat. Ann. 1516.—The iniquity of Leo towards the Duke of Urbino is admitted by his apologist, Mr. Roscoe. See vol. III. p. 89;—where an account of the Duke's unsuccessful attempt to recover his dominions is given from Guicciardini.

arrival of ten thousand Swiss in Lombardy. Meanwhile the imperial mercenaries were clamorous for their arrears of pay; and their mutinous remonstrances alarmed the Emperor. He called to mind the cruel manner in which this faithless people had deserted Lodovico Sforza; and his fears were wound up to the highest pitch by a letter purporting to be written by Trivulzio to the Swiss captains, but which had been forged expressly for the purpose of interception. He regarded the Swiss with the utmost suspicion; he dreaded their meeting with their countrymen in pay of the French; and, upon the plea of obtaining further supplies, he deserted his army, and hurried into Germany.[25] His departure sealed the defection of the Swiss, who immediately disbanded and returned to their homes. The Spanish defenders of Brescia despairing of succour evacuated that city; and the French commenced a vigorous siege of Verona, which was as vigorously defended by Marcantonio Colonna.

27th May. 1516.

The war, which devastated Italy in consequence of the league of Cambray, had now lasted seven years. During this period the pontificate changed its possessor; the throne of France received a new master; and the cities of Lombardy had been the sport of all the contending parties. Early in 1516 Ferdinand, King of Aragon, expired, having bequeathed his dominions to his grandson Charles, Archduke of Austria, then resident in the Nether-

Death of Ferdinand II. King of Aragon. 23d Jan. 1516.

[25] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 451.—Daru, tom. III. p. 649.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Charles I. King of Spain.

Peace of Noyon. 13th Aug. 1516.

Peace of Brussels; 4th Dec. 1516.

lands.[26] This change facilitated the pacification of Europe. By a treaty of peace concluded at Noyon between Charles and Francis, it was agreed that Charles should marry the daughter of Francis, or, in case of her death, any daughter to be thereafter born; the kingdom of Naples was to be charged with the dowry; and Francis agreed to relinquish his claim to the Neapolitan crown. The rights of the family of Albret to the kingdom of Navarre were provided for, though very ineffectually. The young King of Spain took leave to negotiate also for his imperial grandfather; Verona was to be consigned by Maximilian to Charles, who bound himself to transfer it to Francis; and on payment of an hundred thousand crowns, as a reimbursement for the several sums advanced by France to the Emperor, Francis agreed to restore Verona to Venice. A truce of eighteen months was to be concluded between Maximilian and the Republic, during which time he was to retain part of his Italian conquests. These conditions, made entirely without his authority or concurrence, were received with bitterness by the Emperor, who loudly exclaimed against the presumption of the boy, his grandson. But his inability to resist the general call for peace compelled him to submit, and he reluctantly subscribed to the terms of the treaty of Noyon. About the same time a perpetual peace was concluded between France and Switzerland at Friburg; and the truce between the Emperor and

[26] Mariana, tom II. p. 580.—Robertson's Charles V. vol. II. p. 21, 4to.

Venice was afterwards prolonged to five years, in consideration of an annual subsidy of twenty thousand ducats.[27]

Such was the termination of the eventful war, which had been generated by the iniquitous league of Cambray. On the 15th of January 1517 Verona was delivered over to the Venetian commissioners; and that Republic, after braving the combined forces of Europe, stood proudly repossessed of the greater part of her once lost territories.[28] The King of France was invested with the dutchy of Milan; and Charles, King of Spain, was placed in quiet possession of that splendid country, together with Sicily, Naples, and the Netherlands.

Though the Emperor Maximilian in this Italian war had lost both territory and reputation, he was studiously increasing his power in the North; and completing his long-concerted design of permanently vesting the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary in the house of Austria. By the treaty of Pres-

[27] Daru, tom. III. p. 654. Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 104.—Surely Dr. Robertson is not justified in stating, that Maximilian "reaped advantage from every war and every negotiation in Italy during his reign," (Charles V. Book I. p. 49.) any more than in the contemptuous manner in which he speaks of this Prince.

[28] The Abbé Dubos exaggerates the final loss of Venice by the league of Cambray, when he states in the concluding sentence of his book, that the war cost the Venetians "presque la *moitié* de leurs domaines d'Italie." The most important territories lost were Ravenna and the other cities of Romagna, the Cremonese, and Roveredo, whilst those which she regained comprised Padua, Rovigo, Friuli, Belluno, Feltrino, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo. How far the Republic suffered from the expenses of the war, at the moment when the discovery of the passage round the Cape so materially affected her commerce, is another matter; and may be best ascertained by tracing her subsequent history in the excellent work of the Count Daru.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Maximilian secures the succession of Bohemia and Hungary. 1515.

burg, he had already laid the ground for the succession to the Hungarian throne.[29] By a strict alliance with the Teutonic Knights, and with Vassali-Ivanovitch, Duke of Muscovy, he overawed Sigismund, King of Poland, who had exerted his influence with his brother Uladislaus VI. King of Hungary and Bohemia,[30] to frustrate the alliances projected by the Emperor. Maximilian also secured the friendship of Christian II. King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, by giving him in marriage his grandaughter Isabella. The Kings of Hungary and Poland were induced to visit the Emperor at Vienna, and the splendour of their reception and entertainment completely dissipated all unfriendly feeling. A double marriage was thereupon arranged: Maximilian's grandaughter Mary was betrothed to Lewis, the heir of Hungary and Bohemia; and Anne, the sister of Lewis, was affianced to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria.[31]

Peace being now restored to the Christian world, Maximilian grew desirous to devote his latter days to an expedition against the Turks, whose continued conquests rendered them daily more for-

[29] Ante p. 110.

[30] It was under Uladislaus VI. that the famous conspiracy of George and Luke Seckel took place in Hungary, A. D. 1514.—The matter is related with shocking minuteness by Paulus Jovius in the 13th Book of his History, in which George's (not Luke's) "iron crown" is not forgotten. "Illi (Georgio) nudum et cathenis vinctum in equuleo constituunt, et corona candenti ex vomere conflata, ut regem mos est, coronant." tom. I. p. 128.

[31] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 102.—Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 447.—Coxe, vol. II. p. 53. —In virtue of this alliance, Ferdinand the second grandson of Maximilian was elected to both the Hungarian and Bohemian thrones, on the death of King Lewis II. at the battle of Mohacz in 1526.

midable. The Sultan Selim had completed the downfal of the Mameluc dynasty in Egypt and Syria, and made himself master of both those countries; and the Pope earnestly besought the sovereigns of Europe to unite in the holy warfare. A Diet was accordingly held at Augsburg, in which the Emperor and the papal legate, Cardinal Cajetano, delivered impressive exhortations. But the German princes, absorbed in their own disputes, shewed no appetite for foreign contention; and instead of raising their voices against the Turks, the assembled nobles took occasion to exclaim against the papal exactions, which appeared more pressingly dangerous to Christendom than the remote incursions of the infidels. All, therefore, that Maximilian could procure from the Diet by way of subsidy, was a resolution that, for the three following years, each person receiving the holy communion should pay one tenth of a florin towards the Turkish war; and the consideration of the matter was, as usual, postponed to a future Diet.[32]

In another object, which lay nearer the heart of Maximilian, he appeared more successful. To continue the imperial crown in his family was his earnest desire; and he tried all means in his power to procure the election of his grandson Charles of Spain, as King of the Romans.[33] Though the

[32] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 453.

[33] According to Spalatinus and Muller (apud Struvium, p. 968. note 97.) Maximilian agreed to nominate as his successor in the Empire Lewis II. King of Hungary and Bohemia; transferring to him the imperial power, sicuti in nos per predecessores fuit translata;—terms sufficiently vague. The same

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

omission of Maximilian to receive the imperial crown furnished a plausible excuse for not electing another King in his life time, four of the Electors, Mentz, Cologne, the Count Palatine, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, bound themselves in writing to reserve their votes for Charles. The friendly intercourse of the Emperor with Sigismund, King of Poland, the guardian of the young Lewis, King of Bohemia (whose minority prohibited his voting), also promised a fifth vote. But Frederic, Duke of Saxony, surnamed the Wise, declined pledging himself to a measure, which by placing a foreign prince upon the throne, might prejudice the immunities of Germany; and the Archbishop of Treves declared his opposition, being entirely devoted to the wishes of France.[34]

In the midst of these negotiations, Maximilian

transfer, says Struvius, he promised to make to Henry VIII. of England; for which he quotes a letter of Henry, dated June 1514 (note 98.). Both Rapin (tom. V. p. 107.) and Hume (vol. IV. p. 12.) mentions this negotiation, which Hume calls "an artifice too gross to succeed, even with a prince so little politic as Henry; and Pace (he adds) his envoy, who was perfectly well acquainted with the Emperor's motives and character, gave him warning that the sole view of that prince, in making him so liberal an offer, was to draw money from him." That Henry, however, thought seriously of this offer, appears by his letter in Struvius: and in Sir Henry Ellis's Collection of Original Letters (vol. I. p. 134. Letter LI.), is a curious epistle from Tunstall (afterwards Bishop of Durham, but then English ambassador in Germany) to Henry, dissuading him from listening to Maximilian's offer. The writer shews great ignorance of the nature of the imperial election; but advises his master "to gyff most exquisite thanks to th' Emperor for his good mynd therein." This matter, which appears to have been made a great secret, speaks most unfavourably for the good faith of Maximilian; who at this very time was straining every nerve to perpetuate the Empire in his own family.

[34] Schmidt, vol. V. p. 12.

Death of Maximilian; 1519.

was attacked by a mortal disease, and expired at Wels in Austria, on the 11th of January 1519, in the sixtieth year of his age. For some years prior to his death he had carried about with him a coffin, destined to receive his lifeless remains; and his dying moments evinced the piety of a Christian and the fortitude of a hero.[35]

His character;

The virtues, talents, and accomplishments of this Prince were very considerable. He was brave, enterprising, just, generous, and affable. He excelled in manly exercises, and was much attached to literature and science. With all these qualities, the world might have expected a great and glorious reign. But unfortunately he possessed neither prudence to guide his actions, nor steadiness to perfect his intentions. His thoughtless prodigality dissipated his scanty revenues; his levity and love of novelty frustrated his most judicious conceptions. Hence the difference with which his character has been treated by the German and Italian historians. By his own countrymen, his good principles are justly appreciated; by foreigners, who marked his feeble conduct in the Italian wars, he is spoken of with contempt and disdain. They judged of the tree by its fruits; and forgot to make allowance for the disadvantages it sustained, ftom the parsimony of those who should have encouraged its growth, and enabled it to defy the storm.

[35] Schmidt, vol. IV. p. 455.—Coxe (vol. II. p. 76.) has given an account of the death-bed scene from the funeral oration of Faber, which is certainly no exception to Dr. Johnson's rule, 'That hardly any man dies without affectation.' Croker's Boswell, vol. III. p. 92.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Under Maximilian the military system of Germany underwent a complete revolution. Instead of occasional levies, where the citizen or peasant of yesterday became the soldier of to-day, he organized a regular body of troops, and introduced into the kingdom that political problem, a standing army.[36] His *Landsknechts*, armed with pikes, composed the strength of his infantry,[37] and were supported by his well-disciplined cavalry, the *Reiters*. He was himself a deep proficient in the theory of war, upon which he even composed a treatise. To the improvement of his artillery he was particularly attentive; and is said to have invented mortars, and other engines in the new art of destruction. After reading these eulogies on his military proficiency, we cannot fail to wonder, when we turn to the lifeless record of his exploits in the wars which drew together the powers of Europe.

His family.

By his first wife, Mary of Burgundy, he had two sons and a daughter. The sons died in their father's life time; the elder, Philip, in his twenty-ninth year, the younger, Francis, in his infancy. By his wife Johanna of Aragon, Philip left two sons and three daughters. The sons were the Emperors Charles V. and Ferdinand I. The eldest daughter Eleanor married, first Emmanuel, King of Portugal, and

[36] Schmidt, p. 573.

[37] Struvius, p. 924. *Die Landsknechte.* This seems their proper appellation, as being raised from the peasantry: other writers (as Pfeffel and Schmidt) call them *Lanzknechte*, from their pikes: and the Italians call the German foot-soldier *Lanzichenecco*. The French word Landsquenet is equivocal; but Johnson derives it from "*Lance* and *knechte*, Dutch."

secondly Francis I. King of France. The second, Isabella, was the wife of Christian II. "the Nero of the North." The third, Mary, was espoused by Lewis II. King of Hungary and Bohemia. Catherine, a posthumous daughter of Philip, was married in 1523 to John III. King of Portugal.[38]

The daughter of Maximilian, Margaret of Austria, deserves particular mention. Having been affianced to, and rejected by Charles VIII. of France, she became the wife of John, the only son and heir of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. After the premature death of that young prince in 1498, Margaret entered into a second marriage with Philibert II. Duke of Savoy. Her talents and understanding were of the highest order. She governed the Netherlands in her father's name with great wisdom and sagacity; and her nephew Charles V. continued her in the regency till her death in 1530.

By his second wife, Bianca-Maria Sforza, Maximilian left no issue.

Seeds of the Reformation.

It was at the close of this Emperor's reign, that Martin Luther arose to that great and glorious labour, the Reformation. The exorbitant pretensions of the church of Rome, her scandalous corruptions, and the profligate sale of indulgences by Leo X., provoked this great and undaunted man to the perilous work of opposing the Pope and his minions. How the great work was carried on cannot here be related. The elegant historian of

[38] Appendix, Table LI.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

the successor of Maximilian has detailed the origin of this extraordinary revolution; and many years were yet to roll away, ere the exertions of the reformer, his coadjutors, and disciples, were to triumph over the abominations of the papal court.

And now, the imperial throne being vacant, the anxiety of Europe was awakened to the contest for the succession. Never had two such powerful rivals disputed the crown; for the voices of the Electors were solicited by the two greatest princes of the West, the Kings of France and Spain; and the election of either seemed pregnant with the most important results to the other nations. Although the German descent of Charles was a personal recommendation, the German princes dreaded the effects of his residence in Spain, and the introduction of Spanish principles and ministers into the government of the Empire. The absence of Charles in a distant country was also unfavourable to his success; although his aunt, the Regent of the Netherlands, and his own ambassadors in Germany, strained every nerve to procure from the four Electors the completion of their promise to Maximilian, and a considerable sum of money was remitted from Spain to fix the hesitating princes. To gain the Elector Albert of Mentz was the first grand object; since his influence over his brother, Joachim, Elector of Brandenburg, promised also to secure his vote. The Electors of Mentz and Cologne were without difficulty induced to renew their promise in favour of Charles; but the Arch-

bishop of Treves continued inflexibly devoted to France. The Count Palatine Lewis V. excused himself from performing his undertaking; and Frederic of Saxony maintained a cautious silence, and kept all parties in ignorance of his intentions.

Francis, on his part, omitted nothing that might assist his pretensions. His splendid successes in the Italian wars, his acknowledged valour and reputation, were pressed upon the German nation; and his emissaries were furnished with large sums of gold, and bills upon the bankers of Augsburg. But the Augsburg bankers, and especially the Fuggers, were devoted to the house of Austria; and they not only declined to accept the bills of France, but professed to the Austrian ambassadors their readiness to serve the cause of Charles; a profession which they amply realized by a present advance of thirty thousand florins. One signal advantage was afforded to Francis by the strong repugnance of the Pope to the choice of so powerful a neighbour as the King of Naples; and Leo X. reminded Charles of the ordinance of Clement IV. and other pontiffs, forbidding any Neapolitan king to aspire to the imperial crown. He abstained, however, from openly favouring the king of France; and secretly desired to see a German prince raised to the Empire. Henry VIII. King of England, now availed himself of the indecision of the Electors, to stand forward as a third competitor.[39]

[39] Schmidt, vol. V. chap. I.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

At length the important day of election drew near, and the Electors began to assemble at Frankfort. So little were the ambassadors of France acquainted with the forms prescribed by the Golden Bull, that they loudly exclaimed against their exclusion from the city as an affront to their Most Christian master. A dispute remained to be settled with respect to the vote of Bohemia, which was claimed by Sigismund, King of Poland, as the next relative and guardian of the young King Lewis. But his claim was disallowed; and the vote was decided to be vested in the ambassadors of Bohemia, who were fortified by credentials from the states of that kingdom.[40] And now the Elector of Treves, despairing of the success of Francis, proposed to his brother-electors the choice of a German prince, and recommended to their favour Frederic, the Wise, Duke of Saxony. This proposal met with unqualified approbation from all but Frederic himself. That high-minded prince too well estimated the perilous state of the German frontiers, and his insufficiency to curb the hostile approaches of the Turks. Preferring the public advantage to his own exaltation, Frederic pointed out the King of Spain as the most eligible candidate, both by reason of his Austrian descent and his powerful resources. To this disinterested advice the Electors yielded. On the 28th of June 1519 Charles, King of Spain and Naples, was

Charles V. elected and crowned Emperor. 1520.

[40] See, however, the Golden Bull, cap. VII. cited ante, vol. i p. 532.

unanimously chosen; and the election of their master was announced to the Spanish ambassadors, who were invited into Frankfort, and required to execute, in the name of Charles, a capitulation, by which the immunities of the Germanic body were fully protected.[41] The grandson of Maximilian, being thus raised to the throne of the Cæsars, quitted his Spanish dominions; and was crowned by the three ecclesiastical Electors at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 23d of October 1520, by the title of Charles V.[42]

Conclusion.

I have now endeavoured to relate the chief events which occurred in Germany and Italy during a period of more than seven centuries, for the greater portion of which a cloud of darkness overshadowed Europe. But before the time to which we have advanced the dense mist had been gradually dispelled, and the rays of returning light were pouring forth with astonishing splendour. The slow advances of learning had become suddenly stimulated by the invention of printing in the middle of the fifteenth century. The arts, which had been painfully struggling with all the discouragement of a dark and uncivilized age, were gladdened by the voice of patronage: in Italy painting had already attained a pitch of excellence never since surpassed: and the proudest of her architectural monuments were soon to be

[41] Schmidt, vol. V. chap. II.—Robertson's Charles V. vol. II. p. 57. 4to.

[42] Pfeffel, tom. II. p. 118.

eclipsed by the stupendous fabric of St. Peter's. But not to Italy was the burst of light confined: Nature seemed prodigal in the production of genius in every nation. England and Spain were ready to produce their imperishable glories of literature; and the sixteenth century could boast of Ariosto and Tasso, of Shakspeare and Spenser, of Cervantes and Lope. Science was at the same time destined to unlock her treasures to the world, which had been closed to the penetrating eyes of ancient Greece. By the aid of Copernicus, Tycho, Galileo and Kepler, the wonders of the starry firmament were displayed in their true beauty; and before the close of the century Bacon had given earnest of his transcendent mind.

And now the period had arrived when the annals of the Western Empire were to become, in great measure, the history of Europe. Instead of contracting their energies within their natural limits, or being content with harassing their immediate neighbours, the states began to mingle in a general struggle. A new system of policy sprang forth, and the views of the statesman were turned to that balance of power, by which the European nations reciprocally sought to restrain the encroachments of one another. The ancient mode of warfare had grown obsolete by the invention of gun-powder, and entirely new principles were introduced in the

science of defence and destruction. Upon a field so boundless I have neither power nor inclination to enter; and having led the reader through the gloom of the dark ages, I cheerfully consign him to those shining lights which have illuminated the later annals of the Empire.

Mowbray Gardens, Madras,
October 10th, 1837.

GENERAL INDEX.

N. B. The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume, and the Figures to the page.

A

ABDULRAHMAN, first caliph of Spain, i. 19.
——, governor of Spain, defeated by Charles Martel, i. 4.
Abodrites, a Sclavonian tribe, i. 11.
Acciaioli, Angelo, his conspiracy in Florence, ii. 209.
——, Nicolò, i. 504.
Adalbert, king of Italy, i. 88. His deposition, 100.
——, archbishop of Mentz, i. 180. 189.
——, duke of Tuscany, i. 84.
——, marquis of Ivrea, i. 86.
Adalgiso, prince of Benevento, seizes the Emperor Lewis, II. i. 73.
——, prince of Lombardy, escapes to Constantinople, i. 13. Defeated near Benevento, 27.
Adelaide, queen of Italy, married to Otho I. i. 100. Her quarrel with her son, Otho II. 117. Administers the affairs of Germany, 122.
——, abbess of Quedlinburg, i. 170.
Adelardi, Guglielmo degl', i. 250. *note.*
Adelburga, dutchess of Benevento, i. 24.
Adelgisa, daughter of Arechis, duke of Benevento, i. 25.
Adolphus, (of Nassau), king of the Romans, i. 368. He attacks Thuringia, 369. His rupture with Philip IV. king of France, ibid. His deposition, 374. And death, 375.
——, (of Nassau,) elector of Mentz, ii. 105.
——, count of Holstein, ii. 53.
Adorni, doges of Genoa, ii. 165.
Adorno, Agostino, governor of Genoa, under Lodovico Sforza, ii. 241.
——, Antonio, made governor of Genoa, ii. 353.
Adrian, I. Pope, assisted by Charlemagne, i. 13. Crowns Charlemagne's sons in Rome, 22. His death, 35.
—— II. Pope, i. 72. Crowns Lewis II. King of Lorraine, 73.
—— IV. Pope, his disputes with Frederic, I. i. 234. 240. His death, 241.
—— V. Pope, i. 360.

Adriatic, marriage of the doge of Venice with the, i. 259. *note.*
Advocacies, of Switzerland, their origin, i. 348. *note.*
Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, secretary to the council of Basle, ii. 39. 94 Changes his opinions, ibid. Elected Pope Pius II. 103. 133. His death, 134.
Agapet II. Pope, i. 110.
Agnello, Giovanni dell', doge of Pisa, deposed, i. 538. Fails to recover the sovereignty, ii. 211.
Agnes, queen of Hungary, her ferocity, i. 407.
——, daughter of Henry IV. i. 200.
—— of Bohemia, married to Rodolph the younger, of Hapsburg, i. 359.
—— of Hapsburg, married to Albert II. duke of Saxony, i. 354.
—— of Misnia, married to Philip II. king of France, i. 285. Her death, 286.
Agricola, Rudolph, reviver of learning in Germany, ii. 80.
Alard de S. Valori, gains the battle of Tagliacozzo, i. 337.
Albanians, serve in the Venetian army, ii. 280. Their ferocity, 281. *note.*
Alberic, prince of Rome, i. 109.
——, duke of Spoleto, i. 208.
——, marquis of Camerino, i. 108.
Alberico da Romano, a Ghibellin leader in Ferrara, i. 303. Made podestà of Vicenza, ibid. His death, 325.
Albert I. created duke of Austria, i. 361. Disappointed of the empire, 368. Elected king of the Romans, 376. His war with the Rhenish electors, 378. His defeat in Bohemia, 391. And by the margrave of Thuringia, 392. His assassination, 406.
Albert II. king of the Romans, ii. 88. King of Hungary, ibid. Of Bohemia, 89. His death, 91.
—— elector of Mentz, ii. 376.
—— I. (The Bear.) elector of Brandenburg, i. 196. ii. 48.
—— III. (Achilles.) elector of Brandenburg, ii. 68. *note.*
——, archbishop of Bremen, i. 150.
—— I. duke of Austria, see Albert I. king of the Romans.
—— II. duke of Austria, i. 455. His war with the Swiss, 497.
—— III. duke of Austria, ii. 88.
—— V. see Albert II. king of the Romans.
—— VI. duke of Austria, ii. 102. 106.
—— II. duke of Saxony, married to Agnes, daughter to Rodolph I. i. 354.
—— of Saxony, governor of the Netherlands, ii. 123.
——, landgrave of Thuringia, sells his estates to Adolphus, king of the Romans, i. 369.
——, count of Hapsburg, i. 346.
——, bishop of Venice, crowns Lewis V. i. 474.
—— of Bavaria-Munich, claims the estates of George, duke of Bavaria, ii. 321.

Albert-Azzo, lord of Canossa, i. 100. Invested with Reggio and Modena, 111.
Alberti, family of, in Florence, ii. 199. Their banishment, 204.
——, Benedetto, his influence in Florence, ii. 202. His banishment, 203.
Albigenses of France, persecuted by Innocent III. i. 288.
Albizzi, family of, in Florence, ii. 197. Their influence, 203. Their exile, 206.
——, Piero degl', introduces *Admonitions*. ii. 197.
——, Rinaldo degl', his enmity to Cosimo de' Medici, ii. 205. His exile, 206.
——, Tommaso, his tyrannical government in Florence, ii. 203.
Alboin of Saxony, joins his brother Witikind in revolt, i. 23.
Albornoz, Giles, cardinal, recovers the states of the church, i. 514. 516. His death, 537.
Albret, see D' Albret.
Alcuin, of England, i. 51.
Aldruda, countess of Bertinoro, i. 250. *note*.
Aldus, Manutius, his Italian press, ii. 253.
Alessandria dalla paglia, built, i. 253. Besieged by Frederic I., 255. Granted to the Visconti, ii. 149. *note*.
Alexander II. Pope, i. 151. His alliance with Robert Guiscard, 152. His death, ibid.
—— III. Pope, i. 241. Escapes from Rome to Nympha, ibid. Retires into France, 243. Returns to Rome, 247. Quits Rome, 250. Arrives in Venice, 259. Reconciliation with Frederic I. 260. He returns to Rome, 261. And dies, ibid.
—— IV. Pope, i. 330. His death, 331.
—— V. Pope, ii. 21.
—— VI. Pope, ii. 249. Negotiates with Bajazet II. 264. Besieged by Charles VIII. 274. Flies to Orvieto, 279. Creates his son Cæsar a cardinal, 306. His death, 317. And infamous character, 318.
Alfonso V. king of Aragon, ii. 98. Adopted by Johanna II. 142. He conquers Naples, 145. His death, 146.
—— I. (The Catholic,) king of Asturia, i. 18.
—— X. king of Castile, elected king of the Romans, i. 331. His claim rejected by Gregory X. 355.
—— II. king of Leon, his war with the Moors, i. 32.
—— IX. king of Leon, his marriage and divorce, i. 284.
—— II. duke of Calabria, commands the forces of his father Ferdinand I. ii. 223. Defeats the Florentines, 225. His defeat by Roberto Malatesta, 232. Crowned king of Naples, 263. Abdicates and flies to Sicily, 275. His death, 277. *note*.
—— of Aragon, husband of Lucretia Borgia, murdered, ii. 318.
Alidosi, Lodovico degl', loses Imola, ii. 137. *note*.

Allemans, subdued by Pepin and Charles Martel, i. 3. Occupy Rhætia and Noricum, 11.
Alsace, ceded to the Emperor Lewis II. i. 70. United to Swabia, 93.
Altorf, town of, founded, i 398.
Alviano, Bartolomeo, general of Venice, defeated at Ghiaradadda, ii 331, Seizes Cremona, 362. Leads the Venetian force at Marignano, ibid.
Amadeus V. count of Savoy, forms a league against Albert, duke of Austria. i. 368. Opposes William V. marquis of Montferrat, 414. Favours Henry VII. 445.
—— VI. count of Savoy, ii. 175.
—— VIII. created duke of Savoy, ii. 30. Elected Pope, 91. His death, 97.
—— IX. duke of Savoy, ii. 158.
Amalfi, siege of, i. 193. The Republic extinguished, 225.
Ambiza, governor of Spain, invades Septimania, i. 4.
Amboise, cardinal, see D' Amboise.
Ammoniti, the, of Florence, ii. 197.
Anacletus II. Antipope, i. 191. His death, 203.
Anastasius II. Pope, i. 104.
—— III. Pope, i. 108.
—— IV. Pope, i. 202. 229.
Ancona, (Camerino) march of, i. 208. Overrun by the Germans, 277. Reconquered by Innocent III. ibid. And by cardinal Albornoz, i. 516. Maintains its obedience to the Pope, ii. 346.
—— city of attached to the Greek emperor, i. 233. Siege of, by Frederic, I. 249. Siege of, by the Germans and Venetians, 250. *note.*
Andrew II. king of Hungary, his submission to Pope Innocent III. i. 286.
—— III. (the Venetian) king of Hungary, i. 364.
—— of Hungary, marries Johanna, queen of Naples, i. 499. His murder, 501.
Andronicus II. emperor of the East, marries the daughter of William V. Marquis of Montferrat, i. 414. 445. *note.*
Angelbert, the Abbot, i. 35.
Angrarians, a tribe of Saxons, i. 10.
Annates, originated by Pope John XXII. i. 488. Abolished, ii. 65.
Anne, dutchess of Bretainy, ii. 120. Married to Maximilian, 124. To Charles VIII. 125. And to Louis XII. 310. Her death, 357.
—— of Bohemia, married to Henry, king of Bohemia, i. 391.
—— of Hungary, married to Ferdinand of Austria, ii. 370.
——, lady of Beaujeu, regent of France, ii. 119.
—— of Hungary, affianced to Ferdinand I. Emperor, ii. 370.
Anselm, count of the palace, slain, at Roncesvalles, i. 20.
Antwerp, vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117. Its commerce, 123.
Appenzel, canton of, joins the Helvetic confederacy, ii. 293.
Appiano, Jacopo, assassinates Gambacorta and becomes lord of Pisa, ii. 211.

Appiano, Gherardo, sells Pisa to Florence, ii. 211.
Apulia, granted to Roger, king of Sicily, i. 191. 225. *note*
Aquileia, patriarchate of, i. 218.
Aquitaine, i. 5. *note*. United to France, 7.
Aragon, kingdom of, founded, i. 81. *note*.
Ardoino, king of Italy, i. 127. His death, 131.
Arechis, or Aregiso, duke of Benevento, submits to Charlemagne, i. 21. His defection, and death. 26.
Arezzo, darkness of its early history, i. 217. 429. Distracted by the Guelph and Ghibellin factions, *ibid*. Submits to Henry VII. 447. Purchased by Florence, ii. 212. Seized by Cæsar Borgia, 313.
Aribert, king of Toulouse, conquers Gascony, i. 10.
Ariosto, ii. 254.
Arles, see Provence, Burgundy.
Armorica, a division of France, i. 9.
Arnold, duke of Bavaria, i. 97.
—— of Brescia, his heresy, i. 204. His execution, 230.
—— von Winkelried, his heroic death, ii. 3.
Arnolf, elected king of Germany, i. 78. Crowned emperor. 82.
Artois, vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117. Assigned to Charles VIII. 118. Surrendered to Maximilian, 126.
Arts, progress of, in Germany, ii. 83. In Italy, 252.
Assassination, system of, in Italy, ii. 257.
Asti, opposes Charles I. King of Sicily, i. 412. seized by John II. marquis of Montferrat, 498 Submits to the Visconti, ii. 152.
Astolphus, king of Lombardy, besieged by Pepin, i. 7.
Asturia, kingdom of, founded by Pelayo, i. 17.
Athens, taken by the Venetians, ii. 181.
Aulic Council, instituted, ii. 301.
Aurelio, king of Oviedo, i. 18.
Ausburgers, meaning of the term, ii. 55.
Austrag, institution of the, ii. 73. Jurisdiction of, 301.
Austrasia, a province of France, i. 5.
Austria, erected into a Dutchy, i. 197. Seized by Frederic II. 304. Taken possession of by Ottocar II. king of Bohemia, 356. Conquered by Rodolph of Hapsburg, 357. Settled on his descendants, 362. Made an archdutchy, ii. 99.
Avars, see Huns.
Avignon, retreat of the Popes to, i. 410. Purchased by Pope Clement VI. 507-8.
Azzo, see D'Este.

B

Baglioni, Giampagolo, lord of Perugia, ii. 313. Loses that city, 316.
Bagnone, Stefano, joins the conspiracy against the Medici, ii. 218.
Bajazet I. Sultan, ii. 25.
—— II. Sultan, his quarrel with his brother Zizim, ii. 230. His negotiation with Pope Innocent VIII. 246. And with Alexander VI. 264.
Baldwin II. emperor of the East, appears at the first council of Lyons, i. 315.
—— of Luxemburg, elector of Treves, i. 456.
—— IV. count of Flanders, his war with Henry II. i. 129.
—— V. count of Flanders, i. 149.
Balearic Islands, surrendered to Charlemagne, i. 35.
Ban of the empire, i. 136. ii. 76. 321. 325.
Bandini, Bernardo, joins the conspiracy against the Medici, ii. 218. Taken and hanged, 222.
Bankers of Florence, their failure, i. 511. *note.*
Barbara, empress of Sigismund, her infamous character, ii. 40.
Barcelona, counts of, i. 20. 81. *note.*
Bari, taken by the Saracens, i. 68. By the Emperor Lewis II. 73. Becomes the metropolis of the Greek possessions, 120.
Baronelli, Francesco, tribune of Rome, i. 514. His murder, 515.
Basle, canton of, joins the Swiss confederacy, ii. 393.
——, city of, besieged and taken by Rodolph of Hapsburg, i. 350.
Battle of Anghiari, ii. 154.
—— the Arbia, i. 433.
—— Azincourt, ii. 30.
—— Bouvines, i. 283.
—— Chiozza, ii. 173.
—— Cortenuova, i. 305.
—— Creci, i. 493.
—— Fontenaye, i. 65.
—— Gelheim, i. 375.
—— Ghiaradadda, ii. 442.
—— Guinegate, (1479.) ii. 116. (1513.) 356.
—— Lamentana, ii. 240.
—— Lucka, i. 392.
—— Marignano, ii. 362.
—— Marschfeld, i. 358.
—— Meloria, (1241.) i. 312. (1284.) 426.
—— Morgarten, i. 460.
—— Muhldorf, i. 465.
—— Novara, ii. 353.

—— Ravenna, ii. 343.
—— Roncesvalles, i. 20.
—— St. Aubin, ii. 123.
—— Sempach, ii. 3.
—— Tagliocozzo, i. 337.
—— the Taro, ii. 282.
Baumgarten, Conrad, puts to death Wolfenshies of Rossberg, i. 400.
Bavaria, dutchy of, dismembered, i. 25. Re-established, 93. Given to Otho of Wittelsbach, 264, *note*. Division of, ii. 48.
Bavarians, occupy Rhætia and Noricum, i. 11.
Bayard, the Chevalier, his humanity, ii. 342. Made prisoner at Guinegate, 356. Knights Francis I. 363.
Beatrice, empress of Frederic I. crowned in St. Peter's, i. 250.
——, empress of Otho IV., i. 279.
——, dutchess of Tuscany, i. 146.
Bela, IV. king of Hungary, su bdued by Ottocar II. king of Bohemia, i 357.
Belgrade, siege of, by the Turks, ii. 100.
Benedict III. Pope i. 69.
—— IV. Pope, crowns the emperor Lewis III. i. 85. 108.
—— V. Pope, deposed, i. 113.
—— VI. Pope, i. 116. Put to death, 119.
—— VII. Pope, i. 119.
—— VIII. Pope, i. 129.
—— IX. Pope, i. 143.
—— X. Pope, i. 151.
—— XI. Pope, i. 387. His death, 388.
—— XII. Pope, i. 489.
—— XIII. Antipope, ii. 13. His deposition, 31. And death, 32.
Beneficium, equivocal use of the word by the Pope, i. 236.
Benevento, dutchy of, divided into three dynasties, i. 68.
——, city of, ceded to the Pope, i. 204. Taken by Frederic II. 310. Raised to a dutchy, 307.
Bentivogli, family of, restored to Bologna, ii. 339.
——, Francesca dei, murders her husband Galeotto Manfredi, ii. 244.
Bentivoglio, Giovanni, lord of Bologna, beheaded, ii. 149.
——, Giovanni, principal citizen of Bologna, sides with Lorenzo de' Medici, ii. 224. Defeated and taken at Faenza, 244.
Berardo de' Maggi, bishop and governor of Brescia, i. 417.
Berengara, daughter of Alfonso VIII. king of Castile, married to Alfonso IX. king of Leon, i. 284. Her divorce, ibid.
——, daughter of Alfonso IX, king of Leon, married to John, king of Jerusalem, i. 292.
Berenger I. king of Italy, i. 80. Crowned emperor, 85. His murder, 86.
—— II. king of Italy, 88. His dethronement, 100.

Bergamo, possessed by the Visconti, ii. 152. Conquered by Venice, 178. Taken by the French, 331. 342. Retaken by the Venetians, 364.
Bergolini, faction of, in Pisa, i. 524.
Bernard, king of Italy, i. 43. Blinded and deposed, 55.
——, uncle of Charlemagne, blockades Pavia, i. 13.
——, duke of Saxony, i. 264. *note*. ii. 48.
——, count of Barcelona, i. 59.
——, bishop of Hildesheim, i. 122.
——, de Saisset, bishop of Pamiers, his insolence to Philip IV. i. 382.
——, Saint, preaches the second crusade in Germany, i. 198.
Berne, canton of, joins the Swiss confederacy, i. 497.
——, city of, founded by Berthold V. Duke of Zæringen, i. 396. *note*. Besieged by Rodolph of Hapsburg, 362.
Bertha, empress of Henry IV. i. 152.
——, queen of France, her divorce, i. 167. *note*.
Berthold, elector of Mentz, ii. 128.
——, duke of Carinthia, i. 155.
——, duke of Moravia, joins the third crusade, i. 267.
—— IV. duke of Zæringen, surrenders the county of Burgundy to Frederic I. i. 159. Made governor of Burgundy, 344. Founds Friburg, 396. *note*.
—— V. duke of Zæringen, founds Berne, i. 396. *note*.
——, marquis of Hohenberg, guardian of Conradino, i. 329.
——, count of Henneberg, ii. 45.
——, abbot of St. Gall, invades the territories of Hapsburg, i. 349. Reconciled to Rodolph, count of Hapsburg, 350.
Bertrand de Poiet, the Pope's legate in Italy, i. 477. Made count of Romagna, and marquis of Ancona, 485. Expelled Italy, 486.
Bertrando del Balzo, chief justiciary of Naples, i. 502.
Bessarion, cardinal, ii. 103.
Bethlehem, ceded to Frederic II. i. 297.
Bianchi and Neri, factions of, in Pistoia, i. 247. In Florence, 438.
Billing, Herman, duke of Saxony, i. 97.
Bills of Exchange, first noticed in history, i. 330, *note*.
Bishops of Germany, their tumultuous lives, ii. 61.
Boccaccio, his description of the plague of Florence, i. 512. Cultivates the study of Greek in Italy, ii. 132.
Boccanegra, Guglielmo, seizes the government of Genoa, i. 418.
——, Simone, doge of Genoa, i. 528. ii. 163.
Bohemia, conquered by Henry I. i. 89. Erected into a kingdom, ii. 47. Vested in the house of Austria, 370.
Boleslaus I. king of Poland, i. 126. Reduced by Henry II. 128.
—— II. king of Poland, excommunicated and deposed, i. 168.
—— I. duke of Bohemia, reduced by Otho I. i. 99.
—— III. duke of Bohemia, i. 128.

Bologna, her war with Modena, i. 212. Foundation of her university, 239. Famous for the study of civil law, 441. Submits to Frederic I. 246. Confirmed to the Pope by Rodolph I. 355. Governed by a podestà and consuls, 441. Dissensions of the Gieremei and Lambertazzi, 442. Submits to the papal legate, 472. The legate expelled, 486. Purchased by Giovanni Visconte, 513. Revolts from Milan, 528. Surrendered to the Pope, 529. Revolts from the Pope, 541. Submits to the Pope, ii. 32. 136. Taken by the French, 339. Besieged by Julius II. 341. Submits to the Pope, 346.

Bona, of Savoy, dutchess of Milan, ii. 158. Driven from Milan by Lodovico Sforza, 225.

Bonacossi, Bardelone de', deposes his father Pinamonte, lord of Mantua, i. 416. His exile and death, ibid.

——, Bottisella, nephew of Bardelone, i. 416.

——, Francesco, his cruelty, i. 428. *note*.

——, Passerino, lord of Modena and Mantua. i. 472. His death, 478.

——, Pinamonte, lord of Mantua, deposed, i. 416.

Boniface VI. Pope, i. 107. *note*.

——, VII. Pope, i. 119. He is deposed, ibid.

——, VIII. Pope, his election, i. 372. His hostility to Albert I. 376. He recognizes Albert, 379. His quarrel with Philip IV. king of France, 380. 382. His imprisonment, 384. And miserable death, 386.

—— IX. Pope, ii. 13. His death, 18.

—— I. duke of Tuscany, i. 208.

—— II. duke of Tuscany and Lorraine, i. 146.

Books, scarcity of, i. 50. ii. 82.

Borgia, Alfonso, see Calixtus III.

——, Cæsar, created cardinal, ii. 249. 306. Renounces the ecclesiastical profession. 309. Created duke of Valence, 310. Marries Charlotte d' Albret, ibid. His conquests, ibid. Created duke of Romagna, 312. Murders his captains, 315. His ruin and death, 317.

——, Geffrey, youngest son of Alexander VI. ii. 249. Married to Sancia of Naples, 262.

——, Isabella, mother of Alexander VI. ii. 249.

——, Juan, created duke of Gandia, ii. 249. His murder, 307.

——, Lucretia, married to Giovanni Sforza, lord of Pesaro, ii. 250. To Alfonso, duke of Bisaglia, 319. *note*. To Alfonso d' Este, ibid.

——, Pietro, nephew of Calixtus III. ii. 147.

——, Roderigo, see Alexander VI.

Borzivoi, first christian duke of Bohemia, i. 99. *note*.

Boson, duke of Lombardy, expelled by Charles the Bald, i. 74. Establishes the kingdom of Provence, 75 His death, 79. *note*.

Boucicault, John le Maingre, lord of, marshal of France, ii. 14. Governor of Genoa, 163.

Bourbon, Matthew, bastard of, made prisoner at the battle of the Taro, ii. 283.

Bozzardo, sent from Alexander VI. to Bajazet II. ii. 264.
Brabant, dutchy of, i. 94. Vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117.
Bracceschi, Italian mercenaries, ii. 256.
Braccio, the bandit-captain, ii. 32. 141. His death, 144.
Bracciolini, Jacopo Poggio, joins the conspiracy against the Medici, ii. 218. Siezed and hanged, 222.
Bramante, ii. 253. His design for rebuilding St. Peter's, 351.
Brancaleone, senator of Rome, i. 328.
Brandenburg, margraviate of, ii. 48.
Brescia, joins the league against Frederic I. i. 256. Besieged by Frederic II. 307. Seized by Eccelino, 324. And by Palavacino, ibid. Revolts from Palavacino, 417. Surrenders to Charles I. king of Sicily, ibid. And to the Maggi, ibid. Besieged by Henry VII. 446. Submits to John, king of Bohemia, 482. To the Scala, 485. And to the Visconti, 487. Conquered by Venice, ii. 178. Taken by the French, 331. Retaken by the Venetians, 342. Sacked by the French, ibid. Blockaded by the Venetians, 364. Surrenders, 367.
Bretainy, dutchy of, ii. 119. United to France, 125.
Bretislaus, duke of Bohemia, invades Poland, i. 141. His submission to Henry III. ibid.
Bretons, conquered by Pepin, i. 7. Their settlement in Armorica, 9. Reduced by Charlemagne, 23.
Brienne, see De Brienne.
Bruges, its commercial importance, ii. 117. Decline of, 122.
Brunelleschi, his works in Florence, ii. 253.
Brunetto, cultivates philosophy in Florence, i. 440.
Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, created archduke of Lorraine, i. 94.
——, of Brunswick, i. 149.
Brusciati, Tebaldo, governor of Brescia, put to death by Henry VII. i. 446.
Buffoons, their popularity in Germany, ii. 81.
Bulgaro of Bologna, his honest interpretation of the civil law, i. 239.
Buondelmonti and Uberti, factions of, in Florence, i. 432.
Buoso da Doara, siezes Brescia, i. 324. His designs on Cremona, 418.
Burchard, master of the ceremonies to Alexander VI. ii. 309. *note*. 318.
Burgesses of Germany, ii. 69.
Burgundians of Gaul, overwelmed by the Franks, i. 1.
Burgundy, ancient kingdom of, i. 88. *note*.
——, second kingdom of, established, i. 79. Its extent, 88. *note*. Ceded to the Empire, 131. Portioned out into principalities, 137. Boundaries of, ibid. *note*.
Burgundy, dutchy of, confounded with the kingdom, i. 88. *note*. Seized by Louis XI. ii. 114. Invaded by Maximilian, 291. By the Swiss, 357.
Burgundy, county of, see Franche Comté.

C.

Cajetano, cardinal, ii. 371.
Calabria, the name extended to Bruttii and Lucania. i, 145. *note*. The dutchy of granted to Roger, king of Sicily, 192. 225. *note*.
Calixtines, sect of, in Bohemia, ii. 36.
Calixtus II. Pope, i. 181. His concordat, 183.
—— III. Pope, ii. 120. 133.
Caloprini, family of in Venice, i. 221.
Calvary, situation of, a matter of controversy, i. 298. *note*.
Cambi, Neri, gonfalonier of justice, fined by Lorenzo de' Medici, ii. 245.
Cambresis, vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117.
Camerino, seized by Cæsar Borgia, ii. 312.
Campofregoso, see Fregoso.
Canale, Nicolò, admiral of Venice, his misconduct and exile. ii. 182.
Cancellieri, family of, in Pistoia, i. 430.
Candia, or Crete, purchased by Venice, i. 419.
Cannon, when first used in Italy, ii. 174. The train of Charles VIII. at Rome, 273.
Canute, king of the Abodrites, i. 201.
——, VI. king of Denmark, i. 284.
——, grandson of Nicholas, king of Denmark, i. 201.
Cappello, Vittore, admiral of Venice, captures Athens, ii. 181.
Capponi, Neri, his influence in Florence, ii. 207.
Capua, principality of, granted to Roger, king of Sicily, i. 192. 204. *note*. 225. And to Prignano, nephew of Urban VI. ii. 7.
Caracciolo, Sergianni, favourite of Johanna II. queen of Naples, ii. 141. His assassination, 144.
Cardinal, original meaning of the word, i. 261. *note*.
Cardona, viceroy of Naples, engaged by Pope Julius II. ii. 348. Sacks Prato, 349. Occupies Parma and Placentia, 359. Returns to Naples, 364.
Carinthia, dutchy of, i. 196. Purchased by Ottocar II. king of Bohemia, 348. Conquered by Rodolph of Hapsburg, 359. ii. 88. Granted by Rodolph to Mainard IV. count of Tyrol, 259. Reverts to the house of Austria, ibid.
Carlo di Tarento, slain at Montecatino, i. 452.
Carloman, king of France, i. 75. His death, 76.
——, son of Charles Martel, i. 5. Retires into a monastery, 6.
—— , brother of Charlemagne, i. 6. His death, 8.

Carloman, son of Lewis the Germanic, rebels against his father, i. 70. Becomes king of Bavaria and Italy, 74. His death, 75.
Carlotta, daugher of Frederic, king of Naples, ii. 309.
Carmagnuola, Francesco Bosone, general of Milan, ii. 152. Adopted by the duke of Milan, ibid. Deserts to Venice, 153. His execution, 154.
Carniola, purchased by Ottocar II. king of Bohemia, i. 357. Conquered by Rodolph of Hapsburg, 359. Settled on his descendants, 362. ii. 88. Ravaged by the Turks, 108.
Carrara, family of, ii. 148. Their end, 177.
——, Francesco da, lord of Padua, ii. 172.
——, Francesco-Novello da, obtains Verona, ii. 150. Loses Verona, 177. Put to death, ibid.
——, Francesco-Terzo da, put to death, ii. 177.
——, Jacopo da, put to death, ii. 177.
——, Marsilio da, his execution, ii. 177.
——, Ubertino da, his death, ii. 177.
Carroccium, the Lombard standard, invented, i. 140.
Casimir I. king of Poland, i. 141.
—— of Poland, ii. 89.
Castellen, Walter, i. 406.
Castles, multitude of, a great evil in Germany, ii. 55.
Castruccio Castracani, lord of Lucca, i. 453. 470. Duke of Lucca and Pistoia, 474. Imperial vicar in Rome, 475. His death, 478.
Catherine of Austria, married to John III. king of Portugal, ii. 375.
Cavalcabo, Ugolino, seizes Cremona, ii. 150.
Celestine II. Pope, i. 205.
—— III. Pope, crowns Henry VI. emperor, i. 271. 275.
—— IV. Pope, i. 313.
—— V. Pope, his extraordinary election, i. 369. His abdication, 371. His death, 372.
Celtic language, i. 9. *note*.
Cerchi, family of, in Florence, i. 438.
Cesarini, Giuliano, cardinal, ii. 92.
Chalons sur Saone, besieged and burnt by the emperor Lothaire, i. 63.
Champ de Mars, revived by Pepin, i. 3.
Charles (Martel), mayor of the palace of Austrasia, his victories, i. 3.
—— I. (Charlemagne, emperor) his expeditions against the Saxons, i. 11. 16. 21. 22. 32. He conquers Lombardy, 12. His conquests in Spain, 19. And in Italy, 21. 24. 27. And in Pannonia, 28. Crowned emperor of the west, 37. His death, 44. Extent of his dominions, 45. His government, 46. His zeal for religion, learning, and arts, 48.
—— II. (The Bald, emperor) king of France, i. 67. Crowned in Rome, 73. Crowned king of Lombardy, 74. His death, ibid.
—— III. (The Fat, emperor) king of Swabia, i. 74. Crowned in Rome, 75. Regent of France, 76. His dethronement and death, 80.

—— IV. (emperor) king of Bohemia, i. 485. Elected king of the Romans, 492. 493. His expeditions into Italy, 523. 538. Crowned in Rome, 527. His death and character, 545.
—— V. son of Philip, archduke of Austria, ii. 299. His claim to the regency of Castile, 322. His alliance with Francis I. king of France, 360. Becomes king of Spain, 367. Elected and crowned emperor, 379.
—— III. (The Simple,) king of France, i. 78. 82.
—— IV. king of France, proposed as Emperor, i. 467.
—— V. king of France, ii. 4.
—— VI. king of France, ii. 13. 20. His insanity, 29. He chastises the Flemings, 118.
—— VII. king of France, ii. 111.
—— VIII. king of France, ii. 115. 119. He marries Anne of Bretainy, 125. His title to the crown of Naples, 261. His invasion of Italy, 265. Arrives at Florence, 269. Marches into Rome, 270. Enters Naples, 276. Crowned king, 278. He sets out for France, ibid. His return, 284. His death, 291.
—— I. count of Anjou, accepts the crown of Sicily, i. 332. Elected senator of Rome, 333. Crowned king of Sicily, ibid. Conquers the kingdom, 334. Chosen lord of Florence, 336. 434. His death, 343.
—— II. king of Naples, released from prison, i. 360. His death, 414.
—— III. king of Naples, ii. 5. 6. King of Hungary, 11. His murder, 12.
——, king of Provence, i. 70.
——, son of Charlemagne, duke of Maine, i. 33. His conquests, 41. His death, 43.
——, prince of Aquitaine, i. 67.
——, duke of Bourbon, governor of Milan, ii. 364.
——, duke of Brabant, i. 118.
——, (The Rash) duke of Burgundy, ii. 112. Slain at Nanci, 114.
——, duke of Calabria, i. 477. His death, 498.
—— III. duke of Savoy, receives Francis I. at Turin, ii. 361.
——, (The Good,) count of Flanders, i. 189.
——, count of Maine, bequeaths Naples to Louis XI. ii. 262.
—— of Durazzo, i. 500. His murder, 505.
—— de Valois, brother of Philip IV. i. 389. His interference in the affairs of Florence, 439.
Charles-Constantine, count of Vienne, i. 85.
Charles-Martel, king of Hungary, i. 364.
Charobert, king of Hungary, i. 364. 500.
——, of Naples, son of Johanna I. i. 505.
Charolois, county of, assigned to Charles VIII. ii. 118. Reassigned to Maximilian, 126.
Childebert, king of Austrasia, i. 2. *note.*

Childeric III. king of France, i. 6. His deposition, ibid.
Christian II. king of Denmark, marries Isabella, grandaughter of Maximilian, ii. 370. Styled Nero of the North, 375.
Christopher, Pope, i. 108.
Church of Germany, abuses in, ii. 65. See Clergy.
Cia, wife of Ordelaffo, lord of Forli, i. 516.
Cibo, Franceschetto, married to Madalena de' Medici, ii. 245.
——, Gianbattista, see Innocent VIII.
Cimabue, establishes the Florentine school of painting, i. 440.
Ciompi, revolt of the, in Florence, ii. 201.
Circles, Germany divided into, ii. 302.
Cities of Germany, divided into imperial and provincial, i. 97. Their rise and progress ii. 52. Their government, 54. Division into free and imperial, ibid. Admitted into the diet, 57.
—— of Lombardy, their rivalry, i. 130. 207. They become republics, 210. Their government by a podestà, 302. Their continued contentions, ibid. 412. See Milan, Modena, &c.
—— of Tuscany, oppose the rural nobility, i. 265. Deprived of their territory by Frederic I. ibid. Prevalence of the Ghibellins, 309. see Florence, Pisa, &c.
Claude, daughter of Louis XII. ii. 299.
Clement II. Pope, i. 143.
—— III. Pope, i. 275.
—— IV. Pope, i. 333. His death, 350.
—— V. Pope, his election, i. 388. Crowned at Lyons, 389. Favours Robert king of Naples, 448. His death, 451.
—— VI. Pope, i. 492. Absolves Johanna I. queen of Naples, 504. His death, 507.
—— III. Antipope, i. 158.
—— VII. Antipope, i. 543. Retires to Avignon, ii. 6. His death, 13.
—— VIII. Antipope, ii. 32.
Clementia of Hapsburg married to Charles-Martel, king of Hungary, i. 364.
Clergy of Germany, their authority, i. 95. ii. 60. Their immunities. ibid. Their jurisdiction, 61. Papal encroachments on, 62.
Coining, importance attached to, in the middle ages, i. 209.
Cologne, archbishop of, arch-chancellor of Italy, i. 96. *note*. His right to crown the kings of Germany, 275. *note*. 531.
Colonna, family of, illustrious in Italy, i. 381. Persecuted by Boniface VIII. 382. Their dissensions with the Orsini, i. 448. 514. ii. 234.
—— cardinal, ii. 273.
—— Fabrizio, ii. 273. Made prisoner at Ravenna, 344.
—— Giovanni, cardinal, commands the papal forces against Frederic II. i. 381.
—— Giovanni, marquis of Ancona, i. 381.
—— Jacopo, cardinal, i. 381. Flies to France, 382.

Colonna, Lodovico, the protonotary, put to death, ii. 234.
—— Marcantonio, defends Ravenna against the French, ii. 342. Occupies Verona, 366.
—— Ottone, see Martin V.
—— Pietro, cardinal, i. 381. Serves as a galley-slave, 382.
—— Prospero, ii. 273. Sent by Julius II. to Milan, 352. Made prisoner by the French, 361.
—— Sciarra, flies to France, i. 382. His violence to Boniface VIII. 385. Excommunicated, 387.
—— Stefano, count of Romagna, i. 381. Flies to France, 382.
Columbus, crosses the Atlantic, ii. 289.
Comines, Philip de, sent into Italy by Louis XI. ii. 224. To Venice by Charles VIII. 267. Warns Charles VIII. of his danger, 279.
Commerce, of Germany, ii. 53. Of Italy, 252.
Como, destroyed by Milan, i. 211. Her inhabitants released, 238.
Conclave, institution of the, i. 354. Suspended by John XXI. 382. Renewed by Celestine V. 369.
Concordat of Aschaffenburg, ii. 95.
—— of Calixtus II. i. 183.
—— of Leo X. ii. 365.
Condottieri, rise and progress of, in Italy, i. 517. Confined to Italian mercenaries, ii. 256.
Conrad I. (Duke of Franconia), elected king of Germany, i. 88.
—— II. (the Salic) crowned emperor, i. 136. Elected king of Burgundy, 137. His feudal edict, 138. His death, 140.
—— III. (of Hohenstaufen, V. duke of Franconia) i. 182. His war with Lothaire II. 191. Crowned King of Italy, ibid. Elected King of Germany, 195. Joins the second Crusade, 198. His death, 200.
—— IV. i. 296. Elected king of the Romans, 304. King of Sicily, 327. His death, 329.
—— eldest son of Henry IV. crowned king of Germany, i. 170. His rebellion and death, 171.
—— king of Burgundy, i. 117.
—— elector of Mentz, made cardinal, ii. 64. *note.*
—— archbishop of Treves, murdered, i. 154.
—— count-palatine of the Rhine, attends Frederic I. into Italy, i. 237.
—— IV. duke of Franconia, candidate for the empire, i. 135.
—— V. duke of Franconia, see Conrad III. king of Germany.
—— VI. duke of Franconia, son of Frederic I. i. 252.
—— bishop of Hildesheim, ii. 79.
—— of Bavaria, retires into a cloister, i. 195.
Conradino, son of Conrad IV. i. 329. His expedition into Italy, 336. His capture and murder, 338.
Constans, emperor of the East, his rigorous treatment of Pope Martin I. i. 105.

Constantia, daughter of Roger King of Sicily, married to Henry VI. king of the Romans, i. 266. Crowned empress, 271. Her death, 274.
—— of Aragon, married to Frederic II. i. 282. Crowned empress, 291. Her death, 292.
—— daughter of Manfred king of Sicily, married to Peter III. king of Aragon, i. 332.
—— queen of Ladislaus, king of Naples, ii. 138.
Constantine VI. emperor of the East, i. 22. Deposed and blinded by his mother Irene, 38.
Constantinople, taken by the Venetians, i. 419. By the Turks, ii. 100.
Consuls, established in the Italian cities, i. 210.
Convent, female, the first founded, i. 56. *note*.
Coppola, favourite of Ferdinand I. king of Naples, ii. 238.
Coribut, prince of Lithuania, ii. 36.
Correggio, Giberto da, lord of Parma, i. 417.
Corsica, possessed by Pisa, i. 426.
Corvinus, John Huniades, regent of Hungary, ii. 93. Raises the siege of Belgrade, 101. His death, ibid.
—— Ladislaus, son of Huniades, his execution, ii. 101.
—— Matthias, elected king of Hungary, ii. 102. Invades Austria, 109. His death, 110.
Council of Basle, ii. 33.
Constance, ii. 27.
Ferrara, ii. 89.
Florence, ii. 90.
Frankfort, i. 33.
the Lateran, second, i. 179.
——— third, i. 261.
——— fourth, i. 288. *note*.
——— fifth, ii. 345.
Lyons, first, i. 315.
——— second, i 354.
Perpignan, ii. 13.
Pisa (1409) ii. 20.
—— (1511) ii. 340.
Rheims, i. 182.
Sutri, i. 143.
Tours, i. 243.
Troyes, i. 176.
Udine, ii. 21.
Venice, i. 260.
Vienne, i. 410.
Counts of the Empire, i. 15. 94.
—— Palatine, their office, i. 46. 94.

Counts Palatine of the Rhine, instituted by Otho I. i. 95. The vote of Bavaria vested in, ii. 48.
Crema, destroyed by Frederic I. i. 242. Subject to the Visconti, ii. 152.
Cremona, assumes a republican form of government, i. 211. Victories over Milan, ibid. Assists in the destruction of Crema, 242. Joins the league against Frederic I. 257. Declares for Frederic II. 303. Free in the fourteenth century, 417. Submits to Henry VII. 446. To John, king of Bohemia, 486. To the Visconti, ibid. Revolts from Milan, ii. 26. Surrendered to Venice, 153. To the Swiss, 295. To the French, 331. Revolts from the French, 345. Restored to France, 362.
Crescentius, consul of Rome, i. 118. 122. His execution, 124.
Crown, the iron of George Seckel, ii. 370. *note*.
—— the iron of Lombardy, i. 80. *note*.
—— of St. Stephen, i. 126. ii. 92.
Crusade, the first, i. 158. *note*.
—— the second, i. 197.
—— the third, i. 267.
Cunegund, wife of Henry II. empress, i. 130. Her ordeal, 133. *note*.
—— wife of Henry III. i. 144. 148.
Cyprus, conquest of, by Genoa, ii. 172. Surrendered to Venice, 187. *note*.

D.

D'Aciese, Guglielmo, his murder, i. 511.
Dagobert I. king of the Franks, i. 2.
D'Albret, Alain, ii. 22.
—— Charlotte, married to Cæsar Borgia, ii. 310.
—— John, king of Navarre, ii. 317.
Dalmatia, Venetian conquests in, i. 221.
Dalmatians, serve in the Venetian army, ii. 280.
D'Amboise, George, cardinal, prime minister of Louis XII. ii. 328. Enters into the league of Cambray, 329.
Damietta, siege of, i. 265. Recapture of, by the Saracens, 291.
Da Murta, Giovanni, doge of Genoa, ii. 164.
Dandolo, Giovanni, doge of Venice, i. 422.
Danes, repulsed by Henry I. i. 89.
Dante, the poet, created prior of the arts in Florence, i. 438. His perpetual exile, 439.
Danube, project to connect it with the Rhine by Charlemagne, i. 32.
Da Prato, cardinal, i. 388.
D'Aubigny, the general of Charles VIII. in Italy, ii. 266. Left in charge of Naples, 278. Driven out of Italy, 285.
Dauphiny, ceded to France, i. 544. *note*.

D'Avalos, Ferdinando, marquis of Pescara, made prisoner at Ravenna, ii. 344.
De Brienne, John, king of Jerusalem, i. 292. Leads the papal forces into Apulia, 297. Made emperor of the East, 299. *note*.
—— Walter, duke of Athens, sent to Florence, i. 472. Created lord, 510. His expulsion, 511.
Declaration of Frankfort, i. 490.
De Foix, Gaston, his military skill, ii. 341. Raises the siege of Bologna, 342. Slain at Ravenna, 344.
D'Egmont, Arnold, sells Gueldres to Charles, duke of Burgundy, ii. 117.
—— Charles, his attempt to regain Gueldres, ii. 260. 323. Regains his ancestral estates, 329.
De Loria, Roger, captures the Sicilian fleet, i. 343.
De Montfort, cardinal, i. 539.
—— Gui, sent to Florence by Charles I. king of Sicily, i. 433.
Denmark, tributary to the empire, i. 98. 201.
Desiderius, king of Lombardy, i. 8. Taken prisoner by Charlemagne, 13.
D'Este, Alberto, marquis, lord of Ferrara, i. 161.
—— Aldovrandino I. marquis, lord of Ferrara, i. 303.
—— Aldovrandino II. i. 441.
—— Aldovrandino III. marquis, lord of Ferrara, i. 513.
—— Alfonso I. duke of Ferrara, marries Lucretia Borgia, ii. 319. Repulses the Venetians from Ferrara, 335. Threatened by Julius II. 338. By Leo X. 358.
—— Azzo II. marquis of Tuscany, i. 195.
—— Azzo VI. podestà of Ferrara, i. 302. Created prince, ibid.
—— Azzo VII. marquis, expelled Ferrara, i. 303. Submits to Frederic II. 304. Deserts him, 308. Re-instated in Ferrara, 310. Heads the crusade against Eccelino, 323.
—— Azzo VIII. marquis, lord of Ferrara, i. 415. 418. 441.
—— Beatrice, wife of Lodovico Sforza, ii. 267.
—— Borso, marquis, created duke of Modena and Reggio, ii. 98. And duke of Ferrara, 161.
—— Fernando, ii. 335. *note*.
—— Folco, lord of Ferrara, i. 441.
—— Francesco, i. 441.
—— Fresco, i. 441.
—— Hercules, duke of Ferrara, ii. 162. Commands the Florentine army, 224. His war with Venice, 231.
—— Hugo, his incestuous love, ii. 161.
—— Ippolito, cardinal, repulses the Venetians from Ferrara, ii. 335. His cruelty to his brother Fernando, ibid. *note*.
—— Lionello, marquis, a patron of literature, ii. 161.
—— Nicolò II. marquis, i. 537.
—— Nicolò III. marquis, his wisdom and misfortunes, ii. 161.

D'Este, Obizzo II. marquis, obtains Modena and Reggio, i. 415.
——, Obizzo III. marquis, i. 472.
——, Rinaldo, i. 485.
——, Sigismondo, commands the Florentine army, ii. 225.
D'Euna, Monsignor, friend of Cæsar Borgia, ii. 314.
Diet of the empire, how convoked, i. 184. How composed, ii. 57. Triple division of, 128.
—— Augsburg, i. 304. 362. ii. 108. 356. 371.
—— Bamberg, i. 252.
—— Constance, ii. 324.
—— Frankfort, i. 200. 290. 352. 490. ibid. ii. 109.
—— Ingelheim, i. 141.
—— Mentz, i. 173. 267. ii. 89.
—— Merseburg, i. 201.
—— Metz, i. 531.
—— Neustadt, ii. 101. 108.
—— Nuremberg, i. 531. ii. 2. 129.
—— Ratisbon, ii. 100. 108.
—— Rense, i. 490.
—— Roncaglia, see Roncaglia.
—— Saltze, i. 40.
—— Spires, i. 198. 304.
—— Worms, i. 183. ii. 300.
Diether, elector of Mentz, ii. 104. Deposed by Pius II. 105.
Doda, daughter of Pepin, i. 2.
Dominic, St. first inquisitor-general, i. 288.
Donati, family of, in Florence, i. 438.
——, Corso, violence of the Florentines against, i. 437. His exile and death, 439.
Donato, Almoro, assassination of, ii. 193.
Dono II. Pope, i. 119.
Doria, family of, in Genoa, i. 419.
—— Andrea, admiral of Genoa, defeats the Venetians, ii. 171.
—— Giovanni, nephew of Andrea, his gallant attack on the Venetian fleet, ii. 171.
—— Luciano, admiral of Genoa, killed, ii. 173.
—— Pietro, admiral of Genoa, ii. 173.
D'Orso, Francesco, murders Girolamo Riario, ii. 234.
Drago, son of Charlemagne, imprisoned by Louis I. i. 55.
Dukes of the empire, i. 93.
Dungalo of Pavia, i. 50.
Dunois, count, ii. 125.

E

Ebbon, archbishop of Rheims, i. 62.
Eben-al-arabi, governor of Saragossa, i. 19.
Eberard, duke of Franconia, i. 97.
Ecbert, margrave of Thuringia, i. 170.
Eccelino da Romano, the elder, i. 302. Becomes a monk, 303.
—— da Romano, the cruel, podestà of Verona, i. 303. Crusade, against him, 323. His death, 325.
Edmund, son of Henry III. king of England, the Sicilian crown offered to, i. 330.
Edward I. king of England, procures the release of Charles II. king of Naples, i. 364. *note*. His alliance with Adolphus, king of the Romans, 369.
Edward III. king of England, created vicar of the empire, i. 490. Refuses the imperial crown, 495.
Eghart, steward of the royal table, slain at Roncesvalles, i. 20.
Eginhard, i. 20. 45.
Egmont, see D'Egmont.
Elba, possessed by Pisa, i. 426. Seized by Genoa, 429.
Eleanor of Austria, ii. 299. Married to Emmanuel, king of Portugal, 374. And to Francis I. king of France, 375.
Eleanora of Portugal, married to Frederic III. emperor, ii. 97.
Election of the Pope, vested in the cardinals, i. 261. See Conclave.
—— of German kings, see Emperors.
Electoral union of Germany, ii. 320.
Electors, number of, i. 190. *note*. 304. *note*. Reduced to seven, 351. Their rights under the Golden Bull, 531. Their privileges, ii. 46.
Elizabeth, queen of Albert I. i. 376. *note*.
——, widow of Wenceslaus IV. king of Bohemia, i. 391.
——, daughter of Wenceslaus IV. king of Bohemia, i. 391. Married to John, king of Bohemia, ii. 47.
——, queen of Hungary, drowned, ii. 12. *note*.
——, daughter of the emperor Sigismund, married to Albert V. of Austria, ii. 88.
——, daughter of George, duke of Bavaria, claims his estates, ii. 321. Her death, 322.
Emmanuel, king of Portugal, ii. 308. *note*. Marries Eleanor of Austria, 374.
Emperors of the West how elected, i. 97. Their rights in the twelfth century, 184. Their revenues, 185. Mode of election by the Golden Bull, 531. Their power, ii. 43.
Empire, the Western, restored by Charlemagne, i. 37. Its boundaries,

46. *note.* Dismemberment of, under Charles the Fat, 78. Restoration of by Otho I. 100. Claimed by the Pope as a papal fief, 234.
England, kings of, descended from Henry the Lion, i. 283. *note.*
Enzio, son of Frederic II. created king of Sardinia, i. 308. Made prisoner, in Bologna, 318.
Eribert, archbishop of Milan, i. 136. Raises a civil war, 138. Submits to Henry IV. 141.
Eric III. king of Denmark, abdicates, i. 201.
—— I. duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, i. 495. 535. *note.*
—— IV. duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, ii. 48.
Eric-Edmund, king of Denmark, i. 201.
Ernest, duke of Austria, ii. 88. *note.*
——, duke of Swabia, laid under the Ban, i. 136.
Estates of the Church, i. 222. Confirmed to the Pope by Rodolph of Hapsburg, 355. (See Romagna.) State of, in the thirteenth century, 440. In the fourteenth and fifteenth, ii. 327.
—— of the countess Matilda, i. 224.
Este, see D'Este.
Eudes, count of Paris, i. 77. King of France, 80. His death, 82.
——, duke of Aquitaine, subdued by Charles Martel, i. 3.
——, count of Champagne, claims the kingdom of Burgundy, i. 137.
Eugenius II. Pope, his decree, i. 58.
—— III. Pope, i. 202. 205.
—— IV. Pope, ii. 37. Driven from Rome, 39. Deposed by the council of Basle, 90. His death, 95.
Everard, bishop of Bamberg, i. 253.
Exarchs, the imperial, rule Ravenna, i. 2.

F.

Faenza, submits to Frederic I. i. 246. Taken by Frederic II. 310. Confirmed to the Pope by Rodolph I. 355. Betrayed to Bologna, 443. Possessed by the Manfredi, ii. 137. Seized by Cæsar Borgia, 311. Seized by Venice, 324. Taken by the Pope, 331. Surrenders to the French, 344.
Faggiuola, Francesco da, slain, i. 453.
——, Neri da, lord of Lucca, expelled, i. 453.
——, Uguccione da, lord of Pisa, i. 452. Subdues Lucca, ibid. Defeats the Guelphs, ibid. Expelled from Pisa, 453.
Falicro, Marino, his conspiracy and decapitation, i. 425.
False decretals, what, i. 96.
Farinata degl' Uberti, a Ghibellin chief, defeats the Guelphs of Florence, i. 433. Saves the city, ibid.
Farnese, Ranuccio, slain at the Taro, ii. 283.

Fastrade, queen of Charlemagne, i. 30.
Favila, king of Asturia, i. 18.
Felix III. Pope, i. 103.
—— V. Antipope, see Amadeus VIII.
——, bishop of Urgel, revives the Nestorian heresy, i. 33.
Ferdinand of Austria, second son of the archduke Philip, ii. 322. Affianced to Anne of Hungary, 370. Afterwards emperor, 374.
—— II. (the Catholic,) king of Aragon, his marriage with Isabella, queen of Castile, ii. 288. His perfidious character, 289. Joins Louis XII. in the conquest of Naples, 305. Expels the French, ibid. Made regent of Castile, 322. Joins the holy league, 341. Seizes Navarre, 350. His death, 367.
—— I. king of Naples, ii. 135. 147. His war with Innocent VIII. 237. His treachery to his nobles, 242. His title to the crown of Naples, 261. His death, 263.
—— II. duke of Calabria, retreats before the French in Romagna, ii. 266. Retreats from Rome, 270. Assumes the crown of Naples, 276. Flies to Ischia, ibid. Returns to Naples, 285. His death, ibid.
Fermo, march of, i. 208. Overrun by the Germans, 277. Reconquered by Innocent III. ibid. Maintains its obedience to the Pope, 413.
Ferrara, joins the league against Frederic I. i. 256. Submits to the house of Este, 302, 441. (See D'Este.) Confirmed to the Pope by Rodolph I. 355. Seized by Venice, 441. Interdicted by John XXII. 463. Erected into a dutchy, ii. 161.
Fiefs, hereditary in Germany, i. 185.
Field of May, i. 46.
Fieschi, family of, in Genoa, i. 419. ii. 164.
Fiesole, destruction of, i. 214.
First prayers, privilege of, ii. 46.
Flanders, vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117. Its wealth and turbulence, ibid.
Flemings, their violence to Mary of Burgundy, ii. 115. And to Maximilian, 119.
Florence, her early importance and growth, i. 213. Deprived of her territory by Frederic I. 265. Affairs of, in the thirteenth century, 431. Factions in, 432. Government of the Ancients, ibid. The Arts, 434. The Buonomini, 435. The Priors of the Arts, ibid. The Gonfalonier of justice, 436. Exclusion of the nobles from the government, 437. The Bianchi and Neri factions, 438. Besieged by Henry VII. 448. New change in the constitution, 509. Dissensions of the Ricci and Albizzi, ii. 197. The Ammoniti, ibid. The Medici, 198. (See Medici.) Laid under an interdict by Sixtus IV. 223. Absolved, 229. Revolution in, 349. Becomes a dutchy, 350.
Florida, archbishop of Cosenza, his ruin and death, ii. 308.
Fodrum, parata, and *mansionaticum*, defined, i. 15.

Foligno, adheres to the Ghibellins, i. 441. Submits to the Pope, ii. 135.
Folkmar, the monk, preaches the first crusade in Germany, i. 197.
Fondolo, Gabrino, tyrant of Cremona, ii. 26.
Forli, confirmed to the Pope by Rodolph I. i. 355. Seized by Maghinardo, 413. Possessed by the Ordelaffi, ii. 136. Assigned to Girolamo Riario, 230. Taken by Cæsar Borgia, 311. Surrenders to the French, 344.
Formosus, Pope, crowns the emperors Guido and Lambert, i. 82. His body disinterred and insulted, 108.
Fortification, copied by the Italians from the Turks, ii. 257.
Foscari, Francesco, doge of Venice, ii. 193. His deposition and death, 196.
——, Jacopo, his banishment, ii. 193. And death, 195.
France, eastern, see Germany.
——, proper, boundaries of, under Charlemagne, i. 8.
Francesi, Napoleone, joins the conspiracy against the Medici, ii. 218, Escapes pursuit, 223.
Franche Comté, or county of Burgundy, i. 88. *note*. Surrendered to Frederic, I. 252. Seized by Louis XI. ii. 114. Surrendered to Maximilian, 126.
Francis I. king of France, ii. 358. Assumes the title of duke of Milan, 359. Invades Italy, 360. Defeats the Swiss at Marignano, 362. Knighted by the chevalier Bayard, 363. Abolishes the pragmatic sanction, 365. Becomes a candidate for the empire, 376.
Francis II. duke of Bretainy, ii. 120. His death, 123.
—— of Austria, son of Maximilian, ii. 374.
—— St. founds the order of lesser brothers, i. 289. *note*.
Francesca, widow of Lodovico Pico, surrenders Mirandola to the Pope, ii. 338.
Franconia, dutchy of i. 93. Extinguished, 351. ii. 50.
Frangipani, family of, i. 191.
——, Ottone, marries the niece of the emperor Manuel, i. 254.
Franks, established in Gaul, i. 1.
Franz von Sickingen, ii. 302. *note*.
Frederic I. elected king of Germany, i. 200. First expedition into Italy 227. Crowned king of Lombardy, 229. And emperor, 232. Second expedition, 236. Sides with the Antipope, 242. Third expedition, 247. Fourth expedition, 249. His second coronation, 250. Escapes from Italy, 251. Fifth expedition, 254. Defeat at Alessandria, 256. And at Legnano, 257. Submits to the Pope, 258. Sixth expedition, 265. Joins the third crusade, 267. His death, ibid.
—— II. crowned king of the Romans, i. 274. King of Sicily, 280. Invited to Germany, 282. Crowned emperor, 291. Takes the cross, ibid. Evades his oath, 292. Marches into Lombardy, 293. His abortive departure for Palestine, 294. Is excommunicated, 295. Sails for Palestine, 296. Crowns himself king of Jerusalem, 298. Makes peace with the Pope, 299. Ravages Lombardy, 303. Seizes Austria, 304. Per-

secutes the church, 311. His deposition, 316. His cruelty before Parma, 317. His death and character, 318.
—— III. elected king of the Romans, ii. 91. Crowned emperor in Rome, 98. His death and character, 127.
——, prince of Naples, son of Ferdinand I. refuses the crown ii. 238. Becomes king of Naples, 285. Expelled and driven into France, 305.
——, II. king of Sicily, i. 343, *note*. Styled king of Trinacria, 444. His alliance with Henry VII. 447. Invades Calabria, 449. Hostility to Naples, 472. His death, 498.
——, of Hohenzollern, elector of Brandenburg, ii. 49.
—— I. elector Palatine, ii. 104, 145. *note*.
—— II. duke of Austria (first race,) deprived of his dutchy, i. 304.
—— III. titular duke of Austria, beheaded at Naples, i. 339.
—— I. (of Hapsburg), duke of Austria, a candidate for the imperial throne, i. 409. Elected king of the Romans, 457. Defeated and made prisoner, 465. His death, 480.
—— IV. of Austria, count of Tyrol, protects Pope John XXIII. ii. 27. Divides his estate with his brother Ernest, 88. *note*.
—— V. of Austria, see Frederic III. emperor.
—— III. (the Wise) duke of Saxony, ii. 372. Refuses the empire, 378.
—— II. (of Hohenstaufen,) duke of Swabia, i. 182, 189.
—— III. (of Hohenstaufen,) see Frederic I. emperor.
—— IV. (of Hohenstaufen,) duke of Swabia, attends Frederic I. into Italy, i. 237. His death, 251.
—— V. (of Hohenstaufen,) duke of Swabia, i. 252. Joins the third crusade, 267. His death, ibid.
—— I. landgrave of Thuringia, defeats Albert I. i. 392.
—— II. landgrave of Thuringia, refuses the empire, i. 496.
—— of Hohenzollern, burgrave of Nuremberg, i. 353. Ancestor of the kings of Prussia, ibid. *note*.
—— of Misnia, ii. 48. *note*.
Freedmen of Germany, ii. 69.
Fregosi, doges of Genoa, ii. 167.
Fregoso, Giano, doge of Genoa, expelled, ii. 353.
——, Ottaviano, doge of Genoa, ii. 354. Surrenders Genoa to the French, 360.
——, Paolo, archbishop of Genoa, ii. 168. *note*. 241.
——, Pietro, admiral of Genoa, ii. 172.
Frescobaldi, executed for a conspiracy against Lorenzo de' Medici, ii. 222. *note*.
Friars, mendicant, orders of, i. 288. *note*.
Friburg, canton of, joins the Helvetic confederacy, ii. 393.
——, city of, founded by Berthold IV. duke of Zæringen, i. 396. *note*.
Friesland, vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117.

Frisons, conquered by Pepin and Charles Martel, i. 7. Their settlement east of the Rhine, 10.
Friuli, ravaged by the Turks, ii. 183.
Froila, king of Oviedo, i. 18.
Froissart, mistakes in his chronicle, ii. 8. *note*.
Fuggers, bankers of Augsburg, ii. 377.
Furst, Walter, of Uri, his conspiracy against the tyranny of Albert I. i. 401.

G.

Gaieta, republic of, extinguished, i. 225.
Galvano, count, beheaded in Naples, i. 339.
Gambacorta, Franceschino, conservator of Pisa, i. 524.
——, Piero, lord of Pisa, assassinated, ii. 211.
Garbagnate, Francesco, invites Henry VII. into Italy, i. 415.
Gascons, settled in France, i. 10. Defeat Charlemagne at Roncesvalles, 20.
Gaston de Foix, see de Foix.
Gattamelata, general of Venice, ii. 154.
Gelasius II. Pope, i. 181.
Genoa, assumes a republican government, i. 211. Her early prosperity 212. Alliance of, with Innocent II. 194. With Frederic I. 230. Her fleet defeated by the Pisans off Meloria, 312. Affairs of, 418. Wars with Venice, 420. And with Pisa, 426. Submits to Henry VII. 446. Besieged by the Ghibellins, 463. Revolts from Robert, king of Naples. 498. Affairs of, ii. 163. Surrendered to Milan, 241. To France, 295. Revolts from Louis XII. 346. Submits to France, 353. Revolts, ibid. Surrendered to France, 360.
Gentry of Germany, ii. 68.
George, duke of Bavaria-Landshut, contest for his estates, ii. 321.
—— von Freunsberg, ii. 321. *note*.
Gerard, elector of Mentz, promotes the election of Adolphus, king of the Romans, i. 368. His conspiracy against Adolphus, 374. His opposition to Albert I. 377.
——, Abbot of Einsidlin, brings the Swiss into notice i. 394.
Gerberga, widow of Carloman of France, i. 12.
Gerberge, sister of count Bernard, drowned by the emperor Lothaire, i. 63.
Gerbert, see Silvester II.
Gerlae of Nassau, elector of Mentz, i. 492.
Germany, changes in, i. 88. Its boundaries in the tenth century, 92. Its dutchies, 93. Its union with Italy, 100. State of, in the twelfth century, 184. From the twelfth to the fifteenth century, ii. 42. Its boundaries in the fifteenth century, 43. Divided into circles, 302.
Gertrude, daughter of the emperor Lothaire II. marries Henry VIII. duke of Bavaria, i. 190. 196. And Henry IX. duke of Bavaria, 197.

Gertrude of Austria mother of Frederic, titular duke, i. 357.
Gesler, Herman, governor of Schweitz and Uri, i. 398. Assassinated by William Tell, 403.
Ghent, its commerce, ii. 117. Its insubordination, 115. 118. Besieged by Frederic III. 122.
Gherardeschi, see Ugolino.
Gherardo of Pisa, executed in Naples, i. 339
Ghibellins, see Guelphs and Ghibellins.
Giano della Bella, his voluntary exile from Florence, i. 437.
Gieremei, family of, in Bologna, i. 442.
Gilbert, duke of Lorraine, i. 97.
Giotto, establishes the Florentine school of painting, i. 440.
Gisella, second queen of Charlemagne, i. 12.
——, queen of Conrad II. crowned empress, i. 136.
——, daughter of Lewis the Debonaire, i. 65. 79.
Glaris, joins the Swiss confederacy, i. 497.
Godfrey I. duke of Brabant, i. 94.
—— II. duke of Brabant, i. 118.
—— IV. duke of Brabant, i. 146.
—— V. duke of Brabant, i. 146. Married to the countess Matilda, 156. His murder, ibid.
—— of Bouillon, his motive for joining the first crusade, i. 158. *note.*
—— of Lauffenburg, i. 347.
Godschalk, the monk, preaches the first crusade in Germany, i. 197.
Goetz von Berlichingen, ii. 302. *note.*
Golden Bull of Charles IV. provisions of, i. 530.
—— Fleece, order of the, instituted, ii. 117.
Gondebald, the monk, i. 59.
Gonsalvo de Cordoba, the great captain, ii. 284. Assists Ferdinand II. in the conquest of Naples, 305. Siezes Cæsar Borgia, 317.
Gonzaga, family of, their reign in Mantua, i. 478. ii. 160.
——, Feltrino, ii. 160.
——, Francesco, murders his brother Ugolino, ii. 160. Is murdered by his brother Lodovico, ibid.
——, Francesco, II lord of Mantua, ii. 149. He puts to death his wife, Agnese Visconte, 160.
——, Gian-Francesco, created marquis of Mantua, ii. 38. *note.* 161.
——, Gian-Francesco II. marquis of Mantua, commands the troops of the allies against Charles VIII. ii. 281. Made prisoner by the Venetians, 334. Made gonfalonier of the church, 338.
——, Lodovico I. ii. 160.
——, Lodovico II. murders his brothers, ii. 160.
——, Ridolfo, ii. 281. Slain at the battle of the Taro, 283.
——, Ugolino, murdered by his brothers, ii. 160.

Gothic kingdom in Spain, annihilated by the Saracens, i. 1.
Goths of Italy, superseded by the Lombards, i. 1.
Gradenigo, Pietro, doge of Venice, i. 422.
Granada, taken from the Moors, ii. 289.
Grand Chamberlain, office of, filled by Gilbert, duke of Lorraine, i. 97. By Lewis II. margrave of Brandenburg, 535.
Grand-Cup-bearer, office of, filled by Herman, duke of Swabia, i. 97. By Wenceslaus, prince of Bohemia, 535.
Grand-Marshal, office of, filled by Arnold, duke of Bavaria, i. 97. By Rodolph, duke of Saxe-Wittenberg, 535.
Grand-Seneschal, office of, filled by Eberhard, duke of Franconia, i. 97. By Rupert, elector palatine, 535.
Gregory I. Pope, i. 105.
—— II. Pope, founds the papal sovereignty, i. 106.
—— III. Pope, seeks assistance from Charles Martel, i. 5. Encourages image-worship, 106.
—— IV. Pope, appears in the rebel camp against the emperor Lewis I. i. 60.
—— V. Pope, i 124.
—— VI. Pope, i. 143.
—— VII. Pope, i. 152. His quarrel with Henry IV. 155. His death, 160. His pretensions to universal supremacy, 161.
—— VIII. Pope, i. 275.
—— IX. Pope, i. 294. He excommunicates Frederic II. 295. Invades Apulia, 297. His death, 313.
—— X. Pope, i. 351.
—— XI. Pope, i. 540. His death, 542.
—— XII. Pope, ii. 19. His resignation, 28. And death, 31.
—— VIII. Antipope, i. 181.
Grimaldi, family of, in Genoa, i. 419.
——, Antonio, admiral of Genoa, defeated off Cagliari, ii. 170.
Grimbald I. prince of Benevento, i. 24. United with Charlemagne, 26. His defection, 31.
—— II prince of Benevento, makes peace with Charlemagne, i. 41.
——, mayor of the palace, i. 2. *note*.
Grippo, third son of Charles Martel, i. 5.
Gritti, Sebastiano, sent to Constantinople by Venice, ii. 228.
Grütli, see Rutli.
Gueldres, province of, purchased by Charles, duke of Burgundy, ii. 117. 260.
Guelph, family of, i. 195.
—— I. count of Weingarten, i. 55.
—— V. duke of Carinthia, i. 195.
—— VI. duke of Bavaria, i. 155. 195. Opposes Henry IV. 169. Deserts the Pope, 171.
—— VII. duke of Bavaria, i. 171. 195.

Guelph VIII. of Bavaria, i. 195. Marquis of Tuscany and duke of Spoleto, 203. Rescues the papal messengers, 242. Surrenders his estates to Frederic I. 252.
—— IX. only son of Guelph VIII. his death in Italy, i. 252.
——, Cunegund, marries Azzo II. marquis of Tuscany, i. 195.
Guelphs and Ghibellins, origin of the terms, i. 197. Their dissensions in Italy, 277. 411. 427. 429. 432. 442. Their union, 484. Contest in Florence, ii. 197.
Guicciardini, ii. 254.
Guido, duke of Spoleto, crowned emperor, i. 82. His death, ibid.
——, archbishop of Vienne, excommunicates Henry V. i. 182.
——, duke of Tuscany, i. 86. He marries Marozia, 108. Deposes Pope John X. 109.
—— *Cavalcanti*, banished from Florence, i. 439. His cultivation of philosophy, 440.
Guinigi, lord of Lucca, ii. 213.
Gunpowder, invention of, at first made little alteration in Italian warfare, ii. 257. Its effect in securing the peace of Germany, 302.
Gunther, of Schwartzburg, king of the Romans, i. 496.

II.

Hadrian, mole of, see St. Angelo.
——, Pope, see Adrian.
Hainault, vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117.
Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, i. 150.
Hanse-Towns, league of the, ii. 56. Their foreign relations and influence, 57. Ruined by the passage round the Cape, ibid. *note*.
Hapsburg, counts of, i. 345.
Harnescar, punishment of, i. 98. *note*.
Harold, king of Denmark, reduced by Otho I. i. 98.
Haroun-al-raschid, caliph of Bagdad, sends an embassy to Charlemagne, i 39.
Hartman, the elder, count of Kyburg, i 347.
——, the younger, count of Kyburg, i. 348.
—— of Hapsburg, his melancholy death, i. 361.
Hartz-mines, discovery of, ii. 83.
Hawkwood, Sir John, his white company, i. 521. He deserts the Visconti, 540.
Hedwige, mother of Rodolph I. i. 346.
Helian, Louis, ambassador of Louis XII. his oration against Venice, ii. 336.
Helvetic confederacy, see league of the Swiss.

Henry I. (The Fowler) king of Germany, i. 89.
—— II. (The Chaste) king of Germany, i. 127. And of Italy, 128. Crowned emperor, 130. His death, 134.
—— III. elected king, i. 136. Crowned emperor, 144. His death, 147.
—— IV. elected king, i. 149. His contest with Gregory VII. about investitures, 154. Crowned emperor, 159. His misfortunes and death, 174.
—— V. elected king, i. 171. 175. His quarrel with Paschall II. 177. Crowned emperor, 178. Terminates the dispute about investitures, 183. His death, ibid.
—— VI. elected king of the Romans, i. 251. Marries Constantia of Sicily, 266. Crowned emperor, 271. His baseness to Richard I. king of England, 272. Conquest of Sicily, 273. His death, 274.
—— VII. chosen king, i. 410. Obtains for his son, John, the kingdom of Bohemia, 411. His expedition into Italy, 445. Crowned king of Italy, ibid. And emperor, 448. His war with Robert, king of Naples, 449 His death, 450.
—— of Carinthia, king of Bohemia, i. 391. He is deposed, 411. Votes at the election of Frederic of Austria, 457. Father of Margaret Maultasche, 491.
—— II. king of England, acknowledges Pope Alexander III. i. 243.
—— III. king of England, accepts the offer of Sicily for his son Edmund, i. 330.
—— V. king of England, ii. 30.
—— VII. king of England, faintly supports Francis II. duke of Bretainy, ii. 123. Bought over by France, 126.
—— VIII. king of England, joins the holy league, ii. 341. Invades France, 355. Captures Terouenne and Tournay, 356. Becomes a candidate for the empire, 377.
——, son of Conrad III. elected successor of his father, i. 198. His premature death, 200.
——, son of Frederic II. crowned king of the Romans, i. 290. His revolt 300. And submission, 301.
—— the younger, son of Frederic II. i. 329. His death, ibid.
——, elector of Cologne, i. 456.
—— of Virnenburg, elector of Mentz, i. 492. 495.
——, prince of Anhalt, ii. 48. *note.*
—— of Aragon, made prisoner, ii. 145.
—— of Castile, senator of Rome, i. 335.
——, duke of Austria, i. 455. 464.
—— I. duke of Bavaria, i. 98. *note.*
—— II. duke of Bavaria, his revolt and defeat, i. 117. His renewed revolt, 121.
—— VII. (The Black) duke of Bavaria, i. 190.
—— VIII. (The Proud) duke of Bavaria, i. 192. 195. His great possessions, 196. Put under the ban, ibid His death, ibid.

Henry IX. (of Austria) duke of Bavaria, i. 197. Resigns Bavaria, and created duke of Austria, 202.
—— X. (The Lion) duke of Bavaria, i. 197. 202. Accompanies Frederic I. into Italy, 227. Rescues the messengers of Alexander III. 242. His ruin and exile, 264. Reduction by Henry VI. 271.
——, duke of lower Bavaria, sides with Ottocar II. king of Bohemia against Rodolph I. i. 356.
——, duke of Brabant, i. 174.
——, duke of Friuli, defeats the Huns, i. 34.
——, landgrave of Hesse, ii. 50.
Herman of Luxemburg, crowned king of Germany, i. 169. His death, 170.
—— duke of Swabia, i. 97.
—— II. duke of Swabia, i. 127.
—— of Siebeneichen, aids the escape of Frederic I. i. 251.
Hermenigarde, empress of Lewis, I. i. 55.
Heramilion, the, built across the isthmus of Corinth, ii. 180.
Hildebrand, the monk, i. 141. Made cardinal, 151. Procures the election of Alexander II. ibid. Elected Pope, 152. See Gregory VII.
——, duke of Spoleto, submits to Charlemagne, i. 16.
Hildegarde, wife of Charlemagne, i. 21. 30.
Hiltrude, daughter of Charles Martel, married to Odilo, duke of Bavaria, i. 25.
Hinkmar, archbishop of Rheims, asserts the liberties of the Gallican church, i. 165.
Hissem, caliph of Spain, i. 32.
Hohenstaufen, house of, i. 191. See Conrad III. Frederic I. Henry VI. Frederic II.
Hohenzollern, house of, ii. 49.
Holland, county of, attempt of Albert I. to seize, i. 377. Vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117.
Honorius II. Pope, i. 191.
—— III. Pope, i. 290. Crowns the emperors of the East and West, 291. His death, 294.
—— IV. Pope i. 363.
—— II. Antipope, i. 152.
Hormisdas, Pope, i. 104.
Hugh, king of Italy, i. 87. His expulsion from Rome, ibid. 109. And dethronement, 88.
——, duke of France, i. 98.
——, count of Arles, i. 85.
——, count of Burgundy, i. 71.
Hugo, son of Charlemagne, confined by Lewis I. i. 55
Hunald, duke of Aquitaine, made prisoner by Charlemagne, i. 12. Stoned to death, 14. *note.*
Hungarians, occupy Pannonia and invade Italy, i. 83. Their ravages, 87. 88.

Hungary, kingdom of, i. 126. 364. ii. 110. Vested in the house of Austria, 370.
Huniades, see Corvinus.
Huns or *Avars*, their settlement, i. 9. Defeat of, by the generals of Charlemagne, 34. Expelled Pannonia by the Hungarians, 83.
Huss, John, ii. 23. His murder, 34.
Hussites, their insurrection and wars, ii. 35.

I.

Imbercourt, the French general, made prisoner at Guinegate, ii. 356.
Imola, submits to Frederic I. i. 246. Confirmed to the Pope by Rodolph I. 355. Rescued from the Bolognese, 443. Possessed by the Manfredi, ii. 137. Sold to Sixtus IV. for Girolamo Riario, 216. Taken by Cæsar Borgia, 310. Surrenders to the French, 344.
Imperial Chamber, of Sigismund, ii. 73. Of Maximilian, its constitution, 300. and *note*.
Indulgencies, granted by Alexander VI. ii. 319.
Ingelburga of Denmark, married to Philip II. king of France, i. 284. Her divorce, ibid.
Innocent II. Pope, i. 191. Made prisoner by the Normans, 204.
—— III. Pope i. 276. Asserts the papal power in Rome, 277. Reconquers the papal fiefs in Italy, ibid. His death, 283. His character, ibid. His exorbitant pretensions, 286. Originates the inquisition, 287.
—— IV. Pope, i. 313. Retires to Lyons, 314. Excommunicates Frederic II. 316.
—— V. Pope, i. 359.
—— VI. Pope, i. 508. His death, 536.
—— VII. Pope, ii. 18.
—— VIII. Pope, ii. 236. His war with Ferdinand, king of Naples, 237. He makes peace, 241. His negotiation with Bajazet II. 246. His death, 249.
Inquisition, institution of the, i. 287. Abortive attempt to establish it in Germany, ii. 63. *note*.
Inquisitors of the press, instituted by Sixtus IV. ii. 234. *note*.
Interdict upon kingdoms, i. 167. 285. 295. 429. ii. 223. 233.
Interregnum, the grand, i. 327.
Investiture of ecclesiastics with the ring and crozier, i. 96. Quarrel between the Popes and emperors respecting, 154. 179. Termination of the dispute, 183.
Irene, empress of the East, her proposed alliance with Charlemagne, i. 21. Rupture with Charlemagne, 26. Deposes her son Constantine, 38. Herself deposed, 39.
Irmensaul, the sacred column of the Saxons, i. 11.

Irnerius, his study of the Roman law at Bologna, i. 239.
Isabella of England, empress of Frederic II. i. 301.
——, empress of Charles IV. i. 539.
—— of Bavaria, queen of Conrad IV. and mother of Conradino, i. 331. 335.
—— queen of Castile, married to Ferdinand II. king of Aragon, ii. 288. Her death, 322.
—— of Austria, married to Christian II. king of Denmark, ii. 375.
——, dutchess of Anjou, regent of Naples, ii. 144.
——, dutchess of Bretainy, ii. 120. Her death, 124.
—— of Naples, dutchess of Milan, ii. 250. Imprisoned in Pavia, 267.
Ischia, flight of Ferdinand II. king of Naples, to, ii. 276.
Italian language, its decline after Boccaccio, ii. 248. Its improvement, 253.
Italy, division of, under Charlemagne, i. 14. Kingdom of, given to Bernard, 43. Its union with Germany, 100. State of, in the twelfth century, 207. 225. In the thirteenth, 411. In the fourteenth, 470. In the fifteenth, ii. 130. General view of, 251.

J.

Jacopo da S. Croce, ii. 316.
Jacques de la Marche, marries Johanna II. queen of Naples, ii. 139. Becomes a Franciscan friar, 140.
James of Majorca, marries Johanna I. queen of Naples, ii. 5.
Jerome of Prague, his murder, ii. 34.
Jerusalem, taken by Saladin, i. 267. Ceded to Frederic II. 297. Laid under an interdict, 298.
Joachim, elector of Brandenburg, ii. 376.
Joan of England, married to William II. king of Sicily, i. 265.
——, daughter of Louis XI. married to Louis, duke of Orleans, ii. 120.
Johanna I. queen of Naples, i. 499. Suspected of the murder of her husband Andrew, 501. Her second marriage, 503. Her third marriage, ii. 5. Her fourth marriage, ibid. Her murder, 8.
—— II. queen of Naples, ii. 139. Her incontinence, ibid. Marries Jacques de la Marche, ibid. Adopts Alfonso V. king of Aragon, 142. And Louis III. duke of Anjou, 143. Her death, 144.
—— of Aragon, married to Philip, archduke of Austria, ii. 289. Proclaimed queen of Castile, 322.
John I. Pope, imprisoned by Theodoric, i. 104.
—— VIII. Pope, crowns the emperor Charles, i. 527.
—— IX. Pope, i. 108.
—— X. Pope, defeats the Saracens at the Garigliano, i. 85. 109.
—— XI. Pope, i. 109. Deprived of his temporal power, ibid.

John XII. Pope, i. 103. And prince of Rome, 110. His deposition and death, 112. 113.
—— XIII. Pope, i. 113.
—— XIV. Pope, i. 122. Starved to death, 123.
—— XV. Pope, i. 123.
—— XVI. Pope, mutilated, i. 125.
—— XVII. Pope, i. 129.
—— XVIII. Pope, i. 129.
—— XIX. Pope, i. 133.
—— XXI. Pope, i. 360.
—— XXII. Pope, i. 462. Excommunicates Lewis V. 466. His death, 488.
—— XXIII. Pope, ii. 22. His degradation, 28.
—— *Palæologus* I. emperor of the East, recognises the Pope's authority, i. 539.
—— II. emperor of the East, visits Italy, ii. 90.
—— *Zimisces*, emperor of the East, i. 115.
—— of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, i. 411. 449. 456. He joins Lewis V., 464. Made imperial vicar in Italy, 482. Slain at Creci, 493.
——, king of Bulgaria, his submission to Pope Innocent III. i. 286.
——, king of England, his mean submission to Pope Innocent III. i. 286.
——, king of Jerusalem, see De Brienne.
——, king of Navarre, made prisoner, ii. 145. Becomes king of Aragon and Sicily, 146.
—— (d' Albret,) king of Navarre, ii. 317.
—— III. king of Portugal, married to Catherine, posthumous daughter of Philip, king of Castile, ii. 375.
——, prince of Aragon, married to Margaret of Austria, ii. 289. His death, 375.
——, youngest son of the emperor Charles IV. i. 545.
——, prince of Orange, ii. 120.
——, brother of Robert, king of Naples, seizes the Leonine city, i. 448.
——, cardinal of Aragon, ii. 236. *note*.
——, duke of Bretainy, killed, i. 389.
——, duke of Saxe-Lauenburg, i. 456.
——, duke of Swabia (the Parricide), assassinates king Albert I. i. 406.
—— II. marquis of Montferrat, i. 498. His death, ii. 7.
——, count of Hainault, his success over Albert, i. 378.
——, count of Holland, i. 377.
—— of Anjou, his attempt upon Naples, ii. 145.
——, d'Appia, count of Romagna, i. 443.
——, son of Crescentius, governs Rome, i. 129.
—— of Procida, his conspiracy against Charles I. king of Sicily, i. 340.
——, abbot of Struma, (Calixtus III. Antipope) submits to Alexander III. i. 261.
John-Henry, margrave of Moravia, i. 491. Marriage with, and divorce from, Margaret Maultasche, ibid.

Josse, margrave of Moravia, ii. 1. Elected king of the Romans, 23.
Jubilee, instituted, i. 387. Limited to fifty years, 508.
Judith, wife of Lewis I. i. 55. She is compelled to take the veil, 59.
—— of Bavaria, marries Frederic II. duke of Swabia, i. 195.
—— of Hapsburg, married to Wenceslaus IV. king of Bohemia, i. 359.
Julius II. Pope, ii. 319. His project for expelling the French from Italy, 324. Joins the league of Cambray, 329. His conquests from Venice, 331. Deserts the league, 335. Takes the field, 338. Besieges and takes Mirandola, ibid. Recovers the papal states, 346. His death, 350.
Justice, administration of, under Charlemagne, i. 46. Defects in the system of Germany, ii. 71. See Austrag, Imperial chamber, &c.

K.

King of the Romans, title of, when first used, i. 130. By heirs presumptive, 290. *note*.
Knights of Germany, ii. 66.
Kuttenberg, siege of, i. 390.

L.

Ladislaus, king of Bohemia, attends Frederic I. into Italy, i. 237.
—— I. king of Hungary, becomes the vassal of the Pope, i. 168.
—— III. king of Hungary, murdered, i. 363.
——, king of Naples, elected king of Hungary, ii. 17. His invasions of Rome, 138. His death, ibid.
—— Posthumus, king of Hungary, ii. 92. And of Bohemia, 93. His death, 102.
Lambert, emperor, i. 82. His death, 83.
Lambertazzi, family of, in Bologna, i. 442.
Lampugnano, Giovannandrea, assassinates the duke of Milan, ii. 159.
Lance, meaning of the term, i. 517. *note*.
Landais, favourite of Francis II. duke of Bretainy, his execution, ii. 119.
Landamman, the chief-magistrate of the Swiss, i. 395.
Landenberg, Berenger, governor of Unterwalden, i. 398. Expelled by the Swiss confederates, 404.
Lando, Pope, i. 108.
——, count, his mercenary company, i. 520.
——, Michele, made gonfalonier of Florence, ii. 202. His banishment, 203.
Landsknects, foot soldiers of Maximilian, ii. 374.
La Palisse, general of Louis XII. assists Maximilian, ii. 333. Saves Ravenna from plunder, 344. Made prisoner at Guinegate, 356.
Latino, cardinal, the papal legate, i. 442.

League of Cambray, ii. 327.
—— of the Hanse-towns, see Hanse.
——, the Holy, ii. 341.
—— of the Italians against the Turks, ii. 229.
—— of Lombardy, against Frederic I. i. 252. Against Frederic II. 303.
—— of the Rhine, ii. 56.
—— of Swabia, ii. 230. 321.
—— of the Swiss Cantons, origin of the, i. 401. Made permanent, 462.
Legates, papal, sent to kingdoms, i. 166.
Leghorn, dismantled by the Genoese, i. 427. Delivered up to Charles VIII. ii. 269. Siege of by Maximilian, 290.
Legnano, battle of, i. 257. Taken by the French, ii. 337.
Lenzol, Geffrey, father of Alexander VI. ii. 249.
Leo III. Pope, conspiracy against, i. 36. Crowns Charlemagne emperor, 37.
—— IV. Pope, crowns Lewis II. emperor, i. 69. His death, ibid.
—— V. Pope, i. 108.
—— VI. Pope, i. 109.
—— VIII. Pope, i. 112.
—— IX. Pope, i. 144. Made prisoner by the Normans, 145.
—— X. Pope, ii. 351. His rapacity, 358. Heads a league against Francis I. king of France, 359.
——, the Isaurian, emperor of the East, i. 106.
Leon, the capital of Asturia, i. 18. *note.*
Leopold III. margrave of Austria, i. 189.
—— IV. margrave of Austria, obtains Bavaria, i. 142.
—— V. duke of Austria (first race), joins the third crusade, i. 267. Imprisons Richard I. of England, 272.
—— I. duke of Austria (second race), i. 455. Defeated by the Swiss at Morgarten, 460. His death, 468.
—— II. duke of Austria, ii. 2. Defeated and slain by the Swiss at Sempach, 3.
—— III. duke of Hesse, ii. 59.
—— son of Albert, margrave of Austria, i. 142.
Lewis, I. elector of Brandenburg, son of Lewis V. emperor, i. 466. 495. ii. 48.
—— II. elector of Brandenburg, i. 535.
—— II. (The Severe) elector palatine and duke of Bavaria, i. 352.
—— III. elector palatine, ii. 28. His library, 82.
—— V. elector palatine, ii. 377.
—— III. landgrave of Hesse, ii. 91.
—— of Tarento, his marriage with Johanna I. queen of Naples, i. 503. His death, ii. 5.
Lewis I. (The Debonair) created king of Aquitaine, i. 22. 35. He reduces

Barcelona, 41. Crowns himself emperor, 44. His unfortunate reign, 54. His death, 65.
Lewis II. king of Italy, i. 67. Crowned emperor, 70. His humiliation to the Pope, ibid. His death, 73.
—— III. king of Provence, i. 84. Crowned emperor, ibid.
—— II. (the Germanic) king of Germany, i. 67. 70. His death, 74.
—— III. king of Germany, i. 85.
—— IV. king of Germany, i. 84. 88.
—— V. elected king of the Romans, i. 456. Is excommunicated, 466. His expedition into Italy, 469. Crowned emperor by the Antipope, 474. His death, 493.
—— king of France, see Louis.
—— I. king of Hungary, i. 500. He invades Naples, 503. 507.
—— II. king of Hungary, betrothed to Mary of Austria, ii. 370. Slain at Mohacz, ibid. *note.*
Limburg, vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117.
Literature, revival of by Charlemagne, i. 51. Cultivation of, in Germany, ii. 78. In Italy, 253.
Liutberge, wife of Tassillo, duke of Bavaria, i. 25.
Liutgarde, wife of Charlemagne, i. 31.
Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, i. 115.
Lodi, hostility of towards Milan, i. 138. Assumes a republican form of government, 211. Destroyed by Milan, ibid. Restitution of, 238. Submits to Henry VII. 446.
Lodovico, count of San-Bonifazio, lord of Mantua, i. 416.
Lombardy, conquest of by Charlemagne, i. 12. Dutchies of, 14. and *note.* Its extent in the twelfth century, 207. League of, against Frederic I. 252. Against Frederic II. 302. Republics of, 412. See Milan, Mantua, &c.
Loredano, Giacomo, his rancour against the doge Foscari, ii. 196.
Lorraine, kingdom of, i. 70.
——, dutchy of, divided into upper and lower, i. 94. Held by Otho II. as a fief of France, 118. See Brabant.
Lothaire I. i. 54. Crowned emperor, 57. Revolts against his father, 58. Defeated at Fontenaye, 65. His abdication and death, 69.
—— II. i. 181. 189. Crowned emperor, 192. His death, 194.
——, king of France, his war with Otho II. i. 118.
——, king of Italy, i. 87. His death, 88.
——, king of Lorraine, i. 69. His divorce, 71. His death, 72.
Louis I. see Lewis the Debonair.
—— II. (the Stammerer) king of France, i. 75.
—— III. king of France, i. 76.
—— IV. king of France, i. 98.
—— VII. king of France, joins the second crusade, i. 199. Acknowledges Pope Alexander III. 243.

—— IX. king of France, attempts to mediate between Innocent IV. and Frederic II. i. 316. His canonization, 380.
—— XI. king of France, ii. 111. His character, ibid. His war with Frederic III. 116. His death, 119.
—— XII. duke of Orleans, ii. 120. His imprisonment, 123. Sent by Charles VIII. into Italy, 266. Takes possession of Novara, 280. 284. His title to the dutchy of Milan, ibid. Surrenders Novara, ibid. Becomes king of France, 291. Invades the Milanese, 294. Joins Ferdinand II. in the conquest of Naples, 304. Loses Naples, 305. Marries Anne, widow of Charles VIII. 309. Defeats the Venetians at Ghiaradadda. 331. Loses Milan, 345. Regains and loses Milan, 353. Marries Mary of England, 357. His death, 358.
Louis I. duke of Anjou, adopted by Johanna I. queen of Naples, ii. 7. 261. His death, 10. *note.*
—— II. duke of Anjou, ii. 10. *note.*
—— III. duke of Anjou, adopted by Johanna II. ii. 143. 261. His death, 144.
Lubeck, foundation of, ii. 53. Head of the Hanse-Towns, 56.
Lucca, chief city of Tuscany, i. 209. Early wars with Pisa, 213. Declares for the Guelphs, 429. Submits to Robert, king of Naples, 451. Captured by Uguccione da Faggiuola, 452. Submits to Castruccio Castracani, 453. 470. Seized by John, king of Bohemia, 483. By the Scala, 486. Sold to Florence, 488. Taken by Pisa, 510. Purchases her liberty from Charles IV. 539. Submits to Milan, ii. 149. Recovers her independence, 213.
Lucerne, canton of, joins the Swiss confederacy, i. 497.
Lucius II. Pope, i. 205. His violent death, ibid.
—— III. Pope, i. 262. Opposes Frederic I. 266. His death, ibid.
Ludolph, archbishop of Magdeburg, ii. 65.
——, duke of Carinthia, i. 170.
Lusignano, Giacopo, king of Cyprus, ii. 187. *note.*
——, Pietro, king of Cyprus, captured by the Genoese, ii. 172.
Luther, Martin, originates the reformation, ii. 375.
Luxemburg, vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117.
Luxury, rapid increase of, in Italy, ii. 254.

M.

Machiavelli, his panegyric on Cæsar Borgia, ii. 314.
Maffei, Antonio, joins the conspiracy against the Medici, ii. 218.
Maffeo de' Maggi, lord of Brescia, i. 417.
Maghinardo da Susinana, a Ghibellin chief, i. 443.
Mahomed II. Sultan, his ravages, ii. 100. Takes Constantinople, ibid. Besieges Belgrade, ibid. His war with Venice, 179. His invasion of Italy, 228. His death, 230.

Mainard, duke of Carinthia, i. 376. *note*. ii. 259.
——, count of Neuhaus, Regent of Bohemia, ii. 93.
——, son of Lewis of Bavaria and Margaret Maultasche, ii. 259.
Maio, favourite of William I. king of Sicily, i. 230. His assassination, 248.
Majorca, taken by the Genoese, i. 214.
Malatesta of Rimini, defeats the Bolognese, i. 442. 443.
——, lord of Rimini, i. 516.
——, Carlo, ii. 20.
——, Galeotto, i. 516.
——, Pandolfo II. obtains Brescia, ii. 150.
——, Pandolfo III. succeeds to the government of Rimini, ii. 232. Loses Rimini, 311.
——, Parisina, wife of Nicolò III. marquis of Este, put to death, ii. 161.
——, Roberto I. ii. 135.
——, Roberto II. ii. 224. Defeats Alfonso, duke of Calabria, 232. His sudden death, ibid.
——, Sigismondo, ii. 135. He lands in the Morea, 180.
Malipiero, Pasquale, elected doge of Venice, ii. 196.
Manfred, son of Frederic II. Regent of Sicily, i. 329. King of Sicily, 331. Defeated and slain, 334.
Manfredi, family of, lords of Faenza and Imola. ii. 137.
——, Astorre III. lord of Faenza, ii. 245. Losses Faenza, 311. His cruel fate, ibid.
——, Galeotto, lord of Faenza, his murder, ii. 244.
——, Taddeo, sells Imola to Sixtus IV. ii. 216.
Manichæans, persecution of the, i. 300.
Manners of the Germans, ii. 84.
Mantua, joins the league against Frederic I. i. 256. Governed by Ricardo, count of San-Bonifazio, 416. And the Bonacossi, ibid. Subjected to the Gonzaghi, ii. 160.
Manuel Comnenus, emperor of the East, his treachery to the crusaders, i. 199. Harassed by the Normans, 250. His design to reunite the two empires, 248. Contributes to the restoration of Milan, 253.
Manufactures of Germany, ii. 83. Of Italy, 252.
March of Spain, established, i. 20.
Marches of Austria, Misnia, and Sleswick, established, i. 89.
Margaret, wife of Henry VII. emperor, dies at Genoa, i. 447.
——, wife of Lewis V. emperor, i. 473.
——, queen of Sicily, widow of William I. i. 218.
—— of Austria, ii. 118. Affianced to Charles VIII. ibid. And to John of Arragon, 289. Regent of the Netherlands, 323. Promotes the league of Cambray, 329. Married to Philibert II. duke of Savoy, 375. Her wise government, ibid.
—— of Naples, married to Charles of Durazzo, ii. 5.
—— (Maultasche,) heiress of Tyrol, married to Henry-John of Bohemia,

i. 491. An to Lewis of Bavaria, ibid Assigns the Tyrol to the house of Austria, ii. 259.
Margraves, their office, i. 94.
Maria, *king* of Hungary, ii. 12.
—— of Cyprus, queen of Naples, ii. 138.
——, (wife of Charles II.), queen of Naples, i. 363.
—— of Naples, married to Charles, duke of Durazzo, i. 500.
Marozia, her influence in the papal election, i. 108. Marries Alberic, marquis of Camerino, ibid. And Guido, duke of Tuscany, ibid. And Hugh, king of Italy, 109. Is sent to a cloister, ibid. Her descendants become Popes and counts of Tusculum, 133.
Marquisates of Italy, i. 208.
Marquises, governors of the marches, i. 15.
Martin I. Pope, his tragical fate, i. 105.
—— IV. Pope, i. 363.
—— V. Pope, ii. 31. His death, 37.
——, king of Aragon, ii. 20.
Mary of Austria, married to Lewis of Hungary, ii. 370. 374.
—— of Burgundy, ii. 113. Her marriage with Maximilian, 116. Her death, ibid.
—— of England, married to Louis XII. ii. 357.
Matilda, empress of Henry V. i. 182.
——, the countess, i. 146. Sides with Gregory VII. against Henry IV. 156. Her bequest to the church, 181.
——, abbess of Quedlinburg, i. 122.
—— of Hapsburg, married to Lewis II. Duke of Bavaria, i. 354.
Matraversi, faction of, in Pisa, i. 524.
Maximilian, archduke of Austria, elected king of the Romans, ii. 110. Marries Mary of Burgundy, 116. His imprisonment in Bruges, 121. Marries Anne of Bretainy, 124. The marriage nullified, 125. Succeeds to the empire, 259. Marries Bianca Sforza, 260. His first expedition into Italy, 290. Makes a disastrous war with the Swiss, 292. Campaign against the elector palatine, 321. Second expedition into Italy, 325. Obtains the title of Emperor elect, ibid. His design of becoming Pope, 339. Serves under Henry VIII. king of England, 350. Third expedition into Italy, 366. His death and character, 373. His family, 374.
Mechlin, vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117.
Medici, family of, their influence in Florence, ii. 199. They are *admonished*, 204.
——, Alessandro de', duke of Florence, his doubtful extraction, ii. 350. *note*.
——, Antonio de', ii. 203. His execution, ibid. *note*.
——, Bartolomeo de', conspiracy of, ii. 198.
——, Bianca de', daughter of Piero, ii. 211. Married to Guglielmo de' Pazzi, 217.

Medici, Caterina de', queen of Henry II. king of France, ii. 305. *note.*
——, Cosimo de', son of Giovanni, ii. 205. His exile, ibid. His recal, 206. Unconstitutional acts of his friends, ibid. His death, 208. Styled "Father of his country," 209.
——, Giovanni de', gonfalonier of Florence, ii. 204. Institutes the *Catasto*, ibid. His death, 205.
——, Giovanni de', son of Cosimo, his death, ii. 208.
——, Giovanni de', son of Lorenzo, created cardinal, ii. 245. Driven from Florence, 269. Made prisoner at Ravenna, 344. Restored to Florence, 349. Elected Pope, 352. See Leo X.
——, Giuliano de', son of Piero, ii. 211. His assassination, 221.
——, Giuliano de', son of Lorenzo, driven from Florence, ii. 262. Restored, 349. His death, 366.
——, Giulio de', ii. 344. Afterwards Pope Clement VII. 350. *note.*
——, Lorenzo de', son of Giovanni, ii. 205.
—— Lorenzo, de', son of Piero, ii. 211. 214. His princely authority in Florence, 215. Escapes the conspiracy of the Pazzi, 221. Excommunicated by Sixtus IV. 223. His visits to Ferdinand, king of Naples, 227. Forms a league against Venice, 231. Abrogates the ancient constitution of Florence, 239. Captures Pietra Santa, 240. Regarded as prince, 245. Preserves the peace of Italy, 246. His death, 247. His verses, 254.
——, Lorenzo de', nephew of Leo X. ii. 364. Put in possession of Urbino, 366.
——, Madalena de', married to Franceschetto Cibo, ii. 245.
——, Nannina de', daughter of Piero, ii. 211.
——, Piero de', son of Cosimo, ii. 208. His rule in Florence, 209. His death, 210.
——, Piero de', son of Lorenzo, his impolitic devotion to Naples, ii. 250. Cedes the Florentine possessions to Charles VIII. 268. Expelled from Florence, 269. Drowned in the Garigliano, 305. *note.*
——, Salvestro de', gonfalonier of Florence, ii. 199. His death, 203.
——, Veri de', his moderation, ii. 203.
Meistersänger of Germany, ii. 81. *note.*
Melchthal, Arnold, of Unterwalden, i. 399. His conpiracy against the tyranny of Albert I. 401.
——, Henry, of Unterwalden, cruelty of Landenberg to, i. 399.
Mentz, archbishop of, arch-chancellor of Germany, i. 96. 352. His office and functions, 531.
Michael, Palæologus, emperor of the East, favours the conspiracy against Charles I. king of Sicily, i. 341.
Michael Angelo, his birth, ii. 253. Favoured by Julius II. 351.
Michele, Don, friend of Cæsar Borgia, ii. 314.
Milan, governed by her archbishop, i. 131. Her enmity to Pavia, ibid. Civil war in, 138. Siege of by Conrad II. 139. Blockaded by her

nobles, 142. Becomes a republic, 210. Her war with Cremona and Pavia, 211. Reluctant submission to Frederic I. 228. Siege of and surrender to Frederic I. 238. Second siege of, 243. And surrender, 244. Restored and enlarged, 253. Heads the league of Lombardy, 256. Governed by a podestà, 302. Affairs of, 413. Revolution in, 473. Erected into a dutchy, ii. 15. 147. (See Visconte and Sforza.) Surrenders to Louis XII. 295. Revolts from Louis XII. 345. Overrun by the French, 352. Abandoned by the French, 353. Surrenders to Francis I. 364.

Milazzo, siege of, i. 498.

Military system of Germany, ii. 78. Its revolution under Maximilian, 374.

Ministerials of Germany, ii. 68.

Minnesänger and Meistersänger, ii. 81. *note.*

Mirandola, besieged and taken by Julius II. ii. 338.

Misilaus, duke of Poland, i. 126.

Missi, or Commissaries, their office, i. 15.

Mocenigo, Tommaso, doge of Venice, ii. 193.

Modena, her early war with Bologna, i. 212. Joins the league against Frederic I. 256. Submits to Obizzo II. lord of Ferrara, 415. Revolts from Azzo VIII. ibid. Submits to John, king of Bohemia, 483. Reconquered by the house of Este, 486. Erected into a dutchy, ii. 161. Assigned to Leo X. 359.

Mogliano, lord of Fermo i. 516.

Montefeltri, family of, lords of Urbino. ii. 136.

Montefeltro, Federico, created duke of Urbino ii. 136. *note.* 216. Commands the army of Sixtus IV. 223.

——, Giovanna, married to Giovanni della Rovere, ii. 216.

——, Guido, lord of Pisa. i. 429. 442.

——, Guidubaldo, duke of Urbino, expelled by Cæsar Borgia, ii. 312.

Montesicco, Gianbattista, joins the conspiracy against the Medici, ii 218. Beheaded, 222.

Montferrat, marquisate of, ii. 162.

Montoni, Carlo, a bandit of Tuscany, ii. 218.

Montpensier, Gilbert, general of Charles VIII. left in charge of Naples, ii. 278. His capture, and death, 285.

Montreal, Frà, i. 515. His company of mercenaries, 520. Put to death by Rienzi, ibid.

Moors, see Saracens.

Moravia, ravaged by the Hungarians, i. 390.

Morea, ravaged by the Turks and Venetians, ii. 180.

Morosini, family of, in Venice, i. 221.

Mottin, leader of the Swiss, ii. 353.

Musa, king of Sardinia, expelled by the Genoese and Pisans, i. 132.

N.

Namur, vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117.
Naples, dutchy of, granted to Roger, king of Sicily, i. 191. Extinction of the republic, 225.
——, kingdom of, separated from Sicily, by the Sicilian vespers, i. 343. Affairs of, ii. 137. Conquered by the French and Spaniards, 305. Reannexed to Aragon, ibid.
Narbonne, besieged by Charles Martel, i. 4. Taken by Pepin, 7.
Navarre, origin of the kingdom of, i. 56. Seized by Ferdinand II. king of Aragon, ii. 350,
Nazareth, ceded to Frederic II. i. 297.
Negropont, taken by the Turks, ii. 182.
Nepotism, i. 360. *note*.
Neri, faction of, in Pistoia, i. 431.
Netherlands, provinces of the, ii. 116.
Neustria, a province of France, i. 5.
Nicephorus, I. the Greek emperor recognizes the title of Charlemagne, i. 39.
—— II. (Phocas,) the Greek emperor, his war with Otho I. i. 115.
Nicholas I. Pope, his bridle held by the emperor Lewis II. i. 70. His proceedings against Lothaire king of Lorraine, 71. His death, 72.
—— II. Pope, i. 151.
—— III. Pope, i. 360.
—— IV. Pope, i. 363.
—— V. Pope, ii. 95. He promotes literature, 131. Founds the Vatican library, 132.
—— V. Antipope i. 476. 481.
—— of Lorraine, son of John, titular king of Naples, ii. 262.
Nobles, inferior, of Germany, ii. 66.
Noellet, William, cardinal-legate, i. 541.
Nogaret, William, advocate of Philip IV. i. 384, Seizes Boniface VIII. at Anagni, ibid. His excommunication, 387.
Nordlingians, a Saxon tribe, i. 10.
Nori, Francesco, murdered, whilst defending Lorenzo de' Medici, ii. 221.
Normans, their incursions on the empire, i. 42. They besiege Paris, 77. Their settlement in Apulia, 120. Investiture of, by Henry III. 144. And by Leo. IX. 145. Their conquests in the south of Italy, 144. *note*. End of their dynasty in Sicily, 274.
Novara, joins the league against Frederick I. i. 256. Occupied by Louis, duke of Orleans, ii. 280. Restored to Milan, 284. Besieged by the French, 353. Taken by Francis I. 562.

O.

Oaths, papal dispensation from, i. 172.
Oberto, marquis, made count of the sacred palace, i. 111.
Odilo, duke of Bavaria, i. 25.
Estphalians, a Saxon tribe, i. 10.
Oleggio, Giovanni da, lord of Bologna, i. 513. 528.
Olgiato, Girolamo assassinates the duke of Milan, ii. 159.
Olivier le Dain, barber to Louis XI. sent to negociate with Ghent, ii. 115.
Oliverotto da Fermo, ii. 313. Strangled by Cæsar Borgia, 315.
Opitz, Martin, father of modern German poetry, ii. 81. *note*.
Ordeal, the several kinds of, i. 162. *note*. ii. 75.
Ordelaffi, family of the, lords of Forli, ii. 136.
——, Francesco, i. 516.
——, Pino, bequeaths Forli to his natural son, Sinibaldo, ii. 230.
——, Sinibaldo, ii. 230.
Orlando, governor of the March of Bretainy, slain at Roncesvalles, i. 20.
Orsini, family of, in Rome, i. 381. Their dissensions with the Colonna, 448. ii. 234.
——, Clarice degl', wife of Lorenzo de' Medici, ii. 245.
Orsino, Battista, cardinal, his imprisonment. ii. 316. And death, ibid. *note*.
——, Beltrando, slain, i. 514.
——, Bertoldo, brother of Pope Nicholas III. i. 442.
Orsino, Bertoldo, partisan of John XXII. i. 479.
——, Francesco, duke of Gravina, ii. 313. Strangled by Cæsar Borgia, 316.
——, Pagolo, ii. 313. Strangled by Cæsar Borgia, 316.
——, Rosso, Cardinal, i. 388.
Otho I. king of Germany i. 89. His conquests, 98. Crowned emperor, 100. His death, 116.
——, II crowned emperor, i. 117. Defeated by the Greeks and Saracens, 119. His death, 121.
——, III. crowned king of Germany, i. 121. And emperor, 124. Punishes the Roman revolt, ibid. His death, 125.
——, IV. disputes the crown with king Philip, i. 278. Elected king and crowned emperor, 279. His capitulation, ibid. Invades Apulia, 280. His excommunication, ibid. Defeated by Philip IV. king of France, at Bouvines, 283. His death, ibid.
——, of Bavaria. elector of Brandenburg ii. 49.
——, I. (of Wittelsbach) count palatine of Bavaria, threatens the papal ambassador, i. 236. Obtains the dutchy of Bavaria, ii. 264. *note*.

Otho, II. (the Illustrious) elector palatine, and duke of Bavaria, ii. 48.
——, duke of Austria, i. 455.
——, duke of Brunswick, ii. 50.
——, duke of Franconia, i. 127.
—— I. count of Burgundy, i. 252.
—— IV. count of Burgundy, reduced by Rodolph of Hapsburg, i. 362.
——, count palatine of Wittelsbach, assassinates Philip, king of Germany, i. 278.
——, bishop of Freisingen, i. 228. *note.* His history composed in Latin, ii. 81.
—— of Brandenburg, regent of Bohemia, i. 362.
—— of Brunswick marries Johanna I. queen of Naples, ii. 5.
—— of Thuringia, i. 149.
Otho-William, son of Adalbert, king of Italy, i. 100, *note.*
Otranto, taken by the Turks, ii. 228.
Ottocar II. king of Bohemia, candidate for the empire, i. 352. His war with Rodolph of Hapsburg, 356. His humiliation, 358. And death, 359.
Oviedo, kingdom of, i. 18. The title changed to Leon, ibid, *note.*

P.

Padua, her early warfare. i. 212. Joins the league against Frederic I. 256. Siezed by Eccelino da Romano, 323. Taken by Azzo VII. ibid. Submits to the Carrara, 416. Seized by Gian-Galeazzo Visconte, and restored to the Carrara, ii. 148. Submits to Venice, 177. Surrendered to Maximilian, 332. Recaptured by Venice, ibid. Siege of, by Maximilian, 333.
Palæologus, Andrew, surrenders his rights to Charles VIII. ii. 276. *note.*
—— Andronicus, son of the emperor John I, ii. 172.
——, Demetrius, ii. 276. *note.*
——, John, emperor, see John.
——, Manuel, ii. 276. *note.*
——, Michael, emperor, see Michael.
——, Thomas, ii. 276. *note.*
Palavacino, Oberto, podestà of Placentia, expelled, i. 324. 415. Podestà of Brescia, 417. Of Cremona, 418.
Palermo, the Sicilian vespers commenced at, i. 342.
Pallium, sent by the Pope to the German prelates, i. 96. ii. 62.
Pandects, pretended discovery of, i. 193. A favourite study in Italy, 239.
Pandolfello Alopo, minion of Johanna II. queen of Naples, ii. 139. His execution, 140.
Pandolfuccio di Guido, i. 515.
Panis-brief, right of, ii. 46.

Pannonia, conquered by Charlemagne, i. 29.
Paolino of Aquileia, i. 50.
Paoluccio, first doge of Venice, i. 218.
Parenzio, senator of Rome, i. 293.
Paris, besieged by the Normans, i. 77.
Parma, joins the league against Frederic I. i. 256. Siege of by Frederic II. 317. Governed by the Correggi, 417. Submits to the papal legate, 472. To John, king of Bohemia, 483. Conquered by the Scala, 486. Revolts from Mastino Scala, 487. Submits to the Visconti, 513. To Julius II. ii. 346. Ceded to Leo X. 358. And to Francis I. 366.
Paschall II. Pope, i. 172. Imprisoned by Henry V. 178.
—— III. Antipope, i. 247. Crowns Frederic I. 250. His death, 253.
Patriarchs of the church, i. 105. *note.*
Patrician of Rome, title of, bestowed on Pepin, king of France, i. 6. And on Charlemagne, 14.
Paul II. Pope, ii. 107.
——, the Deacon, i. 50.
Pavia, capital of Lombardy, besieged by Pepin, i. 7. Taken by Charlemagne, 14. Burnt by the Hungarians, 87. Burnt again, 128. Assumes a republican government, 211. Her successes against Milan, ibid. Sides with Frederic I. 251. Opposes Charles I. king of Sicily, 412 Governed by a lord, 417. By John, king of Bohemia, 483. Conquered by the Visconti, 485. Taken by Francis I. ii. 362.
Pazzi, family of, in Florence, ii. 216. Their conspiracy against the Medici, 218.
——, Antonio de', ii. 217.
——, Francesco de', joins the conspiracy, against the Medici, ii. 217. Seized and hanged, 222.
——, Guglielmo de', married to Bianca de' Medici, ii. 217. Joins the conspiracy against the Medici, 218. His exile, 222.
——, Jacopo de', joins the conspiracy against the Medici, ii. 217. Seized and hanged, 222.
——, Renato de', declines joining the conspiracy against the Medici, ii. 218. Taken and hanged, 222.
Peace of Bagnolo, ii. 233.
Brussels, ii. 368.
Constance, i. 262.
Frankfort, ii. 124.
Friburg, ii. 368.
Noyon, ii. 368.
Senlis, ii. 126.
Turin, ii. 175.
Verdun, i. 66.
Pedro of Navarre, the Spanish general, ii. 343. Made prisoner at Ravenna, 344. Accompanies Francis I. across the Alps, 360.

Pelayo, founds the kingdom of Asturia, i. 17.
Pentapolis, governed by the imperial exarchs, i. 2. Surrendered to Pepin, king of France, 7.
Pepin, the Old, mayor of the palace, i. 2.
Pepin d'Heristal, prince of Austrasia, i. 2. His victories over the Frisons, &c. 3. Revives the Champ de Mars. ibid.
——, the Short, i. 5. Is crowned king of France, 6. Created patrician of Rome, ibid. His death, 7.
——, eldest son of Charlemagne, his conspiracy defeated, i. 29.
——, son of Charlemagne, king of Italy, i. 22. His attack upon Venice, 219. He defeats the Huns, 34. His death, 43.
——, son of Lewis I. king of Aquitaine, i. 55. His death, 64.
——, son of Pepin, king of Aquitaine, i. 67.
Pepoli, Giovanni de', i. 513.
——, Jocopo, i. 519.
——, Romeo, i. 486. *note*.
——, Taddeo, lord of Bologna, i. 486. *note*. 519.
Pera, settlement of the Genose in, ii. 170.
Perfidy, prevalence of, in Italy, ii. 257.
Perugia, surrenders to the Pope, i. 277. Adheres to the Ghibellins, 441. Declares for Robert, king of Naples, 447. Submits to the Pope, ii. 136. Seized by Cæsar Borgia, 316.
Pesaro, rejects the papal authority, i. 443. Submits to Alessandro Sforza, ii. 137. Taken by Cæsar Borgia, 311.
Peter of Courtenay, emperor of the East, crowned by Honorius III. i. 291. *note*.
—— II. king of Aragon, surrenders his kingdom to Innocent III. i. 286.
—— III. king of Aragon, i. 352. Acquires the island of Sicily, 343.
——, king of Hungary, i. 142.
—— II. king of Sicily, i. 498.
——, elector of Mentz, i. 456.
——, count of Savoy, i. 345.
—— of Pisa, i. 50.
Petrarca, i. 498. Cultivates the study of Greek in Italy, ii. 132.
Petrucci, Antonio, favourite of Ferdinand I. king of Naples, ii. 238.
——, Cesare, gonfalonier of Florence, seizes the conspirators against the Medici, ii. 221.
——, Pandolfo, lord of Siena, ii. 313.
Pfahlburgers, meaning of the term, i. 533. ii. 55.
Philibert II. married to Margaret of Austria, ii. 375.
Philip (of Hohenstaufen), duke of Swabia, elected king of Germany, i. 275. His war with Otho of Bavaria, 278. His assassination, ibid.
——, archduke of Austria, ii. 118. Regent of the Netherlands, 260. Married to Johanna of Aragon, 289. Makes peace with Louis XII. 298 Proclaimed king of Castile, 322. His death, 323.

—— I. king of France, excommunicated, i. 168. *note.*
—— II. king of France, excommunicated, i. 285.
—— IV. king of France, his war with Edward I. king of England, i. 369. His alliance with Albert I. 377. His quarrel with Boniface VIII. 380. His excommunication, 384. His death, 451.
—— VI. king of France, i. 461. 469. 547. ii. 118.
——, elector palatine, supports the claim of his son Rupert to the estates of George, duke of Bavaria-Landshut, ii. 321. His defeat, 322.
—— (the Hardy), duke of Burgundy, ii. 116.
—— (The Good), duke of Burgundy, ii. 111. 117.
——, count of Savoy, i. 345. Reduced by Rodolph of Hapsburg, 362.
Piccinino, Nicolò, general of Milan, ii. 153. Defeated by Sforza, 154.
Pico, Gian-Francesco, restored to Mirandola, ii. 338. *note.*
——, Lodovico, lord of Mirandola, ii. 338. *note.*
Pietra Santa, taken by the Florentines, ii. 240. Delivered to Charles VIII. 269.
Pietro, count of Gravina, slain at Montecatino, i. 453.
—— *delle Vigne*, secretary to Frederic II. i. 295. 308. His miserable end, 321.
Pisa, in the twelfth century, i. 213. In the thirteenth, 426. Her wa with Genoa, ibid. Laid under an interdict, 429. Her affection for Henry VII. 447. Expels Uguccione da Faggiuola, 453.—Affairs of, ii. 213. Revolts from Florence, 273. Reduced by Florence, 340.
Pisani, Nicolò, admiral of Venice, ii. 170. Made prisoner by the Genoese, 171.
——, Vittore, admiral of Venice, defeated by the Genoese, ii. 172.
Pistoia, uncertain origin of, i. 217. 429. Becomes dependent on Florence, 430. Faction of Bianchi and Neri, ibid. Her insignificance, ii. 212.
Pitti, Luca, his rise in Florence, ii. 207. His palace, 208. His conspiracy, 210.
Pius II See Æneas Sylvius.
—— III. Pope, ii. 319.
Placentia, joins the league against Frederic I. i. 256. The Ghibellins expelled, 324. Submits to Palavacino, 415. To Charles I. king of Sicily, ibid. To Alberto Scotto, ibid. His expulsion, ibid. Galeazzo Visconti, imperial vicar, 452. Submits to Pope Julius II. ii. 346. Ceded to Leo X. 358. And to Francis I. 366.
Plague of Florence, i. 512.
Podestà govenor of the Italian cities, i. 301.
Podiebrad, George, regent of Bohemia, ii. 93. Elected king, 102.
——Victorin, son of George, invades Austria, ii. 107.
Poetry, origin of in Germany, ii. 81.
Poland, kingdom of, i. 126. Reduced to a dutchy 168.
Polenta, Guido novella da, lord of Ravenna, i. 443.

Polenta, family of, lose Ravenna. ii. 137.
Polesine, the, ceded to Venice, ii. 233. Seized by the duke of Ferrara, 332. Retaken by the Venetians, 338.
Poliziano, ii. 254.
Pontoise, burnt by the Normans, i. 77.
Pontremoli, burnt by the Swiss, ii. 280.
Popes, rise and growth of their power, i. 102. Their election by the clergy and people, 103. Their nomination by the Greek emperors, 105. Become temporal sovereigns, 107. Their depression in the tenth century, ibid. Origin of their change of names, 110. Re-establishment of their authority, 132. Their election vested in the cardinals, 261. Settlement at Avignon, 410. Final return to Rome, 541. See Schism.
Porcaro, conspiracy and execution of, ii. 132.
Portugal, origin of the kingdom of, ii. 288. *note.*
Prætaxation, right of, i. 189.
Pragmatic Sanction, see Golden bull.
—— *Sanction*, of France abolished, ii. 365.
Prague, made an archbishopric, ii. 47.
——, university of, founded. i. 545. ii. 23.
Premislaus, king of Bohemia, ii. 47.
Prignano, Francesco, ii. 7.
Princes, college of, ii. 49. Their privileges, 51.
Printing, invented in Germany, ii. 82. Improved by the Italians, 253.
Procopius Rasus, captain of the Taborites, ii. 37. His argument before the council of Basle, 38. His death, 39.
Provence, kingdom of, founded, i. 75.
Prussians, the idolatrous, attacked by the Teutonic knights, i. 269. 347. *note.*
Pulci, ii. 254.

R.

Radelchisio, prince of Benevento, i. 68.
Rafaelle d' Urbino, favoured by Julius II. ii. 351.
Rainald, archbishop of Cologne, his death in Italy, i. 251.
—— III. count of Burgundy, i. 252.
Rainolph, count of Avellana, invested with the dutchy of Apulia, i. 194. His death, 204.
Raspe Henry, landgrave of Thuringia, chosen king of Germany, i. 316.
Ravenna, taken by Frederic II. i. 310. Confirmed to the Pope by Rodolph I. 355. Submits to the Polenta, 443. Seized by Venice, ii. 137. Taken by the Pope, 332. Surrenders to the French, 344.
Red Hats, of the cardinals, their origin, i. 315. *note.*
Reformation, seeds of the, ii. 375.
Reggio, joins the league against Frederic I. i. 256. Submits to Obizzo II.

lord of Ferrara, 415. Revolts from Azzo VIII. ibid. Submits to John, king of Bohemia, 483. Conquered by the Gonzaghi, 486. Acquired by Nicolò III. lord of Ferrara, ii. 161. Erected into a dutchy, ibid. Seized by Julius II. 358.

Reiters, German cavalry under Maximilian, ii. 374.

Reliques, their value, i. 163. *note.*

René, I. duke of Lorraine, opposes Charles of Burgandy, ii. 114. Becomes duke of Anjou, and king of Naples, 144. 262, Loses the kingdom, 145.

—— II. duke of Lorraine, relinquishes his claim to Naples, Anjou, and Provence, ii. 262.

Renée, daughter of Louis XII. ii. 357.

Republics of Italy, see under their respective names.

Reservations and expectatives, ii. 62. Abolished, 65.

Reuchlin, John, revives learning in Germany, ii. 80.

Rhætia, kingdom of i. 58.

Rhine, union of, with the Danube, projected by Charlemagne, i. 32.

Rhodolph, see Rodolph.

Riario, Girolamo invested with Imola, ii. 216. And Forli, 230. Encourages the disorders of Rome, 234. His murder, 243.

——, Ottaviano, proclaimed lord of Imola and Forli, ii. 244.

——, Pietro, created cardinal ii. 215.

——, Raffaelo, created cardinal, ii. 216. Made prisoner in Florence, 222.

Ricardo, count of San-Bonifazio, lord of Mantua, i. 416.

Ricci, nobles of Florence, ii. 197. They are admonished, 204.

——. Uguccione d', revives the law against the Ghibellines, ii. 197.

Richard, I. king of England, imprisoned in Germany by Henry, VI. i. 272.

—— of Cornwall, elected king of Romans, i. 331. His death, 344.

——, prince of Capua, i. 145.

Richenza, of Brunswick, i. 203.

Rienzi, Cola, tribune of Rome, i. 494. Senator, 515. His murder, ibid.

Rimini, confirmed to the Pope by Rodolph I. i. 355. Submits to the Malatesti, 443. ii. 136. Taken by Cæsar Borgia, 311. Seized by Venice, 324. Taken by the Pope, 331. Surrenders to the French, 344.

Ring and Crozier, see Investiture.

Robert, king of France, excommunicated, i. 167. *note.*

——, king of Naples, i. 412, 444. Made vicar of Romagna and Ferrara. 441. He opposes Henry VII. 448. Elected lord of Florence, 449. Made vicar of Italy, 451. And senator of Rome, ibid. His prosperity and depression, ibid. His death, 498.

Robert, prince of Capua, i. 194.

—— Guiscard, duke of Apulia and Calabria, i. 145. He rescues Pope Gregory VII. 159.

Robert, count of Aversa, i. 192.
Rodgauso, duke of Friuli, beheaded by Charlemagne, i. 16.
Rodolph I. (of Hapsburg) his early life, i. 347. Reduces Basle, 350. Elected king of the Romans, 353. Crowned at Aix-la-chapelle, 354. Confirms the gift of Charlemagne to the church, 355. His war with Ottocar II. king of Bohemia, 356. Conquers Austria, 358. Cedes Romagna to the Pope, 360. His war with Philip, count of Savoy, 362. With Otho IV. count of Burgundy, ibid. And with Berne, ibid. His death, 365. And character, 366.
——, king of Bohemia, i. 391.
—— I. king of Burgundy, i. 81.
—— II. king of Burgundy, proclaimed king of Italy, i. 86.
—— III. king of Burgundy, surrenders the kingdom to Henry II. i. 131.
—— I. count palatine, i. 456.
—— II. count palatine, i. 496.
——, elector of Saxony, i. 456. 535.
——, duke of Swabia, takes arms against Henry IV. i. 150. Elected king, 158. His death, ibid.
—— I. count of Hapsburg, i. 346.
—— II. count of Hapsburg, i. 346.
——, son of Rodolph I. created duke of Austria, i. 361.
——, son of Albert I. married to Blanche of France, i. 379.
—— of Barm, assassinates Albert I. i. 406.
—— Baron of Wart, assassinates Albert I. i. 406.
Roger, count of Sicily, i. 191.
—— II. duke of Apulia, i. 191. Made king of Sicily, 192. He is expelled from Italy, 193. Invested with the kingdom of Sicily by Innocent II. 204.
——, son of William I. king of Sicily, i. 234.
Romagna, ceded to the Pope by Rodolph of Hapsburg, i. 360. 440. Usurped by petty tyrants, 514. Recovered by Albornoz, 516. State of in the fifteenth century, ii. 136. Conquests of Cæsar Borgia in, 310. Surrenders to the French, 344. Submits to the Pope, 346.
Romans, their revolt from Otho I. i. 114. Their attempts to restore the republic, 122. They restore the senate, 205.
Romanus, Pope, i. 108.
—— II. emperor of the East, i. 115.
Rome, city of, assaulted by the Lombards, i. 13. Devastation of, by the Normans, 160. State of in the fourteenth century, 537.
——, dutchy of, i. 15. 222. 440.
Romoald, son of Arechis, duke of Benevento, i. 26.
Roncaglia, assemblies at, i. 16. 139. 146. 177. 238.
Rotrude, daughter of Charlemagne, i. 22. Her death, 43.
Roussillon, ceded to Spain, ii. 126.
Rovere, Francesco della, see Sixtus IV.

——, Francesco-Maria della, duke of Urbino, expelled by Leo X. ii. 366.
——, Giovanni della, made prince of Sora and Sinigaglia, ii. 215. Intercepts the letters of Bajazet II. to Alexander VI. 264.
——, Giuliano della, made cardinal, ii. 215 Promotes the election of Innocent VIII. 236. Opposed to Alexander VI. 249. Retires into France, ibid. Invites Charles VIII. to the invasion of Naples, 265. Accompanies Charles VIII. to Rome, 273. Elected Pope, see Julius II.
——, Leonardo della, made prefect of Rome, ii. 215.
Rovigo, surrendered to Venice, ii. 233. Siezed by the duke of Ferrara, 332.
Rudeness of the German nobles, ii. 85.
Rudesheim, vineyard of, planted, ii. 85. *note.*
Ruggieri degl' Ubaldini, archbishop of Pisa, his cruelty to count Ugolino and his children, i. 428.
Rupert I. elector palatine, i. 495. 535.
—— III. king of the Romans, ii. 16. His death, 23.
—— of Bavaria, claims the estates of George, duke of Bavaria-Landshut, ii. 321. His defeat and death, 322.
Rutli, field of, the cradle of Swiss liberty, i. 401.

S.

St. Angelo, castle of, besieged by Otho III. i. 124. Occupied, by Ladislaus, king of Naples, ii. 138. Seized by Girolamo Riario, 235. Besieged by Charles VIII. 274.
St. George, bank of, ii. 168.
——, company of, i. 518.
St. John, knights of, ii. 246.
St. Peter, church of, founded by Julius II. ii. 351.
Salef, the river, its ancient name doubtful, i. 267. *note.*
Salerno, principality of, i. 68.
——, siege of, i. 194.
Salinguerra Torrello, heads the Ghibellins in Ferrara, i. 302. Betrayed and led prisoner to Venice, 310.
Salviati, Jacopo, archbishop of Pisa, joins the conspiracy against the Medici, ii. 218. Seized and hanged, 222.
Sancia of Naples, daughter of Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, ii. 250. Married to Geffrey Borgia, 262.
San Marino, republic of, ii. 213. *note.*
Sanseverino, cardinal, ii. 340. *note.*
——, Antonio, prince of Salerno, ii. 242.
——, Galeazzo, general of Milan, repulsed by the French, ii. 294.
——, Gian-Francesco, count of Cajazzo, leads the troops of Milan, ii. 281.
——, Roberto, general of the Pope, defeated at Lamentana, ii. 240.

Saracens, subdued by Charles Martel, i. 4. Expelled France by king Pepin, 7. Their incursions in the reign of Charlemagne, 32. They ravage Italy, 68. Their fortress on mount Garganus, 225. Lose Granada, ii. 289. End of their dynasty in Spain, ibid.
Saragossa, taken by Charlemagne, i. 19.
Sardinia, taken by Genoa, i. 214. Possessed by Pisa, 426.
Sarzana, taken by the Genoese, ii. 240. Retaken by the Florentines, 241. Delivered up to Charles VIII. 269.
Sauli, bankers of Genoa, ii. 265. *note*.
Savelli, family of, in Rome, i. 514.
——, cardinal, ii. 273.
Savonarola, the dominican, his influence in Florence, ii. 348. His execution, ibid.
Savoy, counts of, i. 345. Erected into a dutchy, ii. 30.
Saxons, conquered by Charles Martel, i. 3. Their several tribes, 10. Defeated by Charlemagne, 11. Their continued revolts, 16. 21. 22. 32. 34. 39. Their final submission, 40. They rebel against Henry IV. 149.
Saxony, dutchy of, i. 93. Given to Bernard of Ascania, 264. *note*. Divided into upper and lower, ii. 48. Into Saxe-Wittenberg and Saxe-Lauenburg, ibid.
Scabini, their office, i. 46. *note*.
Scala, family of, ii. 148. Their ruin, 177.
——, Alberto, i. 480. 487.
——, Alboino, lord of Verona, i. 416. His death, 447. *note*.
——, Bartolomeo, lord of Verona, i. 416.
——, Cane, lord of Verona, i. 416. 447. And Vicenza, 452. 470. His death, 480.
——, Cane Grande, lord of Verona, i. 514.
——, Mastino I. podestà of Verona, i. 416.
——, Mastino II. lord of Verona, i. 480. League against him, 487.
Scali, family of in Florence, their tyranny, ii. 202.
——, Giorgio, his influence in Florence, ii. 202.
Scanderbeg, delivers Scutari to the Venetians, ii. 183.
Schaffhausen, canton of, joins the Swiss confederacy, ii. 293.
Schinner, Matthew, cardinal of Sion, excites the Swiss against Fran ii. 359. 362.
Schism of the West, the Great, i. 544. End of, ii. 32. The lesse End of, 97.
Schwartzburg, princes of, i. 536.
Schweitz, canton of, i. 394. Throws off the imperial yoke 404.
Schwytz, town of, built, i. 393.
Sclavonians, conquered by Pepin, i. 3.
Scott, Michael, astrologer to Frederic II. i. 308.
Scotto, Alberto, lord of Placentia, i. 414. His expulsion, 415.

Scutari, brave defence of, against the Turks, ii. 183.
Seckel, George, his conspiracy and cruel death, ii. 370. *note*.
——, Luke, his conspiracy and death, ii. 370. *note*.
Selim I. sultan, overthrows the Mameluc dynasty in Egypt and Syria, ii. 371.
Selo, king of Oviedo, i 18.
Selvaggia, natural daughter of Frederic II. married to Eccelino da Romano, i. 307.
Senate of Rome, restoration of, i. 205. Abolition of, 328
Septimania, conquered by Pepin, i. 7.
Serfs of Germany, ii. 69.
—— of Italy, i. 208.
Sergius II. Pope, crowns Lewis, king of Italy, i. 67.
—— III. Pope, expelled Rome, and recalled, i. 108.
—— IV. Pope, i. 129.
—— VII. duke of Naples, i. 194.
Sforza, Alessandro, lord of Pesaro, ii. 137. 231. *note*.
——, Ascanio, cardinal, expelled Milan, ii. 160. Accompanies Charles VIII. to Rome, 272. Made prisoner by the French, 297.
——, Bianca-Maria, married to the emperor Maximilian, ii. 260.
——, Caterina, wife of Girolamo Riario, ii. 216. Defends the castle of Forli, 243. Loses Forli, 310.
——, Constanzo, lord of Pesaro, ii. 231.
——, Francesco, duke of Milan, ii. 97. 157. His death, 158.
——, Francesco, abbot of Marmoutiers, ii. 295. *note*.
——, Galeazzo-Maria, duke of Milan, ii. 158. His assassination, 159.
——, Gian-Galeazzo-Maria, duke of Milan, ii. 159. His death, 267.
——, Giovanni, lord of Pesaro, marries Lucretia Borgia, ii. 250. Loses Pesaro, 311.
——, Jacopo Attendolo, favourite of Johanna II. queen of Naples, ii. 141. Drowned in the Pescara, 144.
——, Lodovico (il Moro), expelled Milan, ii. 160. Seizes the government, 224. His league with the Pope and Venice against Naples, 251. Invites Charles VIII. into Italy, 260. Invested with Milan, 261. Abandons Milan, 295. Betrayed by the Swiss, 297. His captivity and death, ibid.
——, Massimiliano, made duke of Milan, ii. 346. Abdicates, and retires into France, 364.
——, Ottaviano, drowned in the Adda, ii. 160.
——, Sforzino, duke of Bari, expelled Milan, ii. 160.
Sforzeschi, Italian mercenaries, ii. 256.
Sicardo, prince of Benevento, i. 68.
Sicily, investiture of the kingdom given to the Normans, i. 192. 204. Extent of the kingdom, 225. *note*. Granted by Adrian IV. to William I. 234. End of the Norman dynasty, 274. Sicilian Vespers, and division

of the kingdom, 342. Separation of the island from Aragon, and subsequent reunion, 343. *note.*

Siconolfo, prince of Salerno, i. 68.

Sidon, ceded to Frederic II. i. 297.

Siena, uncertain origin of, i. 217. 429. Change in the government, 430. Submits to Robert, king of Naples, 447. Alteration in the government by Charles IV. 527. Submits to Milan, ii. 212. Governed by Pandolfo Petrucci, 313. Besieged by Cæsar Borgia, 316.

Sigifrid, archbishop of Mentz, i. 150.

——, count palatine of the Rhine, i. 180.

Sigismund, son of Charles IV. i. 545. King of Hungary, ii. 12. His dethronement, 17. Elected king of the Romans, 25. His visit to France and England, 29. King of Bohemia, 35. Defeated by the Hussites, 36. Crowned king of Lombardy, 38. And emperor, ibid. His death, 40.

——, king of Poland, ii. 372.

——, count of Tyrol, ii. 128. Cedes the Tyrol to Maximilian, 259.

Silvester II. Pope, i. 125.

—— III. Pope, deposed, 143.

Silvestro de' Gatti, lord of Viterbo, i. 474.

Simonetta, Cecco, minister of Milan, ii. 160. Put to death by Lodovico Sforza, 225.

Simplicius, Pope, i. 103.

Sixtus IV. Pope, ii. 136. His nepotism, 215. Encourages the conspiracy against the Medici, 217. His hatred for Lorenzo de' Medici, 227. His death, 233.

Slaves, i. 208.

Slavery, abolition of, in Germany, ii. 70. And in Italy, 255.

Soderini, Nicolò, his conspiracy in Florence, ii. 209.

——, Pietro, gonfalonier of Florence, ii 347. His expulsion, 349.

Soleure, canton of, joins the Helvetic confederacy, ii. 293.

Sophia, queen of Bohemia, ii. 33.

Spain, state of, in the eighth century, i. 17. Conquests of Charlemagne in, 19. Divisions of, into several kingdoms, ii. 287. *note.*

Spinola, family of, in Genoa, i. 419. ii. 164.

——, Gherardino, purchases Lucca, i. 483.

Spoleto, dutchy of, submits to Charlemagne, i. 14. Claimed by the Popes, 224. Overrun by the Germans, 233. Conquered by Innocent III. 277. And by cardinal Albornoz, 516.

——, city of, ruled by the Guelphs, i. 441. Submits to the Pope, ii. 136.

Stanz, town of, built, i. 394.

States of Germany, their rights in the twelfth century, i. 186. From the twelfth to the fifteenth, ii. 46.

Stauffacher, Werner, of Schweitz, heads the league of the Swiss, i. 400.

Steno, Michele, affronts Marino Faliero, doge of Venice, i. 424.

Stephen II. Pope, flies to France, i 6. 106.
—— IV. Pope, crowns Lewis I. i. 55.
—— VI. Pope, strangled, i. 107.
—— VII. Pope, i. 109.
—— IX. Pope, i. 151.
——, first king of Hungary, i. 126. He is canonized, 127.
Stratiotes, see Albanians.
Strozzi, family of, their tyranny in Florence, ii. 202.
——, Tommaso, his influence, ii. 202.
Styria, dutchy of, possessed by Ottocar II. king of Bohemia, i. 356. Conquered by Rodolph of Hapsburg, 359. Settled in his family, 362. ii. 88.
Sueno, king of Denmark, i. 201.
Suevi of Spain, lost in the Gothic kingdom, i. 1.
Suliman, the Caliph, i. 4.
Susa, burnt by the Germans, i. 255.
Swabia, dutchy of, extinguished by Pepin, restored, i. 93. Extinguished by the murder of Conradino, 339. 351. ii. 50.
Swiss, their origin, and settlement in Helvetia, i. 393. Their first compact, 396. They expel the imperial governors, 404. Their privileges recognized by Henry VII. 411. They defeat Leopold I. duke of Austria, at Morgarten, 460. And Leopold II. duke of Austria at Sempach, ii. 3. They serve in the army of Charles VIII. 271. Save his artillery, 280. War with Maximilian, 292. Completion of their independence, 293. Become the mercenaries of Europe, ibid. Their perfidy to Lodovico Sforza, 297. Their alliance with the Pope, 336. Their perfidy, 341. Their bravery at Novara, 353. They invade Burgundy, 356. Defeated at Marignano, 362.
Switzerland, i. 393. And see League, Swiss, Basle, &c.
Sylvius, see Æneas.
Symmachus, Pope, i. 104.

T.

Taborites, sect of, in Bohemia, ii. 36.
Taddeo da Sessa, vindicates Frederic II. before the council of Lyons, i. 315.
Tancred, king of Sicily, i. 270. His death, 273.
Tankmar, brother of Otho I. killed, i. 98.
Tartars, their ravages, i. 312. And see Huns.
Tassillo, duke of Bavaria, conquered by Pepin, i. 7. And by Charlemagne, 25.
Tegghiaio, Aldobrandi of Florence, podestà of Arezzo, i. 429.
Tell, William, his claim to the title of liberator of the Swiss refuted, i. 402. Assassinates Gesler, governor of Schweitz. 403.
Templars, order of, persecuted and suppressed. i. 409.

Terouenne, siege of, ii. 356.
Terra di Lavoro, boundaries of, i. 271. *note.*
Terzi, Ottobuono, seizes Parma and Reggio, ii. 150.
Teutonic Knights, order of instituted, i. 268. Take possession of Prussia, 347. *note.*
Theodora, the elder, her influence in the papal elections, i. 107.
——, the younger, her passion for Pope John X. i. 108.
Theodore II. Pope, i. 108.
——, marquis of Montferrat, i. 445.
Theofania, princess of Constantinople, married to Otho II. i. 115. 122.
Theresa of Portugal, married to Alfonso IX. king of Leon, i. 284. Her divorce, ibid.
Thierri III. king of Neustria, defeated by Pepin, i. 3.
—— IV. king of France, i. 3. His death, 5.
——, son of Charlemagne, confined by Lewis I. i. 55.
Thieutberge, queen of Lorraine, divorced by her husband Lothaire, i. 71. She retires into a convent, 72.
Three Estates of France, summoned by Philip IV. i. 383.
Thuringia, dutchy of, united to Saxony, i. 93. Seized by Adolphus, 369. Reconquered by the landgrave Frederic I. 392.
Tibaldello Zambrasi, betrays Faenza to Bologna, i. 443.
Tiepolo, Baiamonte, his conspiracy in Venice, i. 423.
——, Jacopo, podestà of Milan, hanged by Frederic II. i. 306.
——, Pietro, refuses the dogate of Venice, i. 422.
Tivoli, rebels from the Pope, i. 204.
Torre, Filippo dalla, lord of Milan, i. 413.
——, Guido dalla, lord of Milan, i. 415. Submits to Henry VII. 445.
——, Martino dalle, rescues Milan from Eccelino, i. 324. Chosen lord of Milan, 413.
——, Napoleone dalla, lord of Milan, i. 413.
Tortona, siege and destruction of, i. 228.
Toscanella, slaughter at, by the French, ii. 279.
Toulouse, besieged by the Saracens, i. 4.
Tournaments, a favourite amusement in Germany, ii. 67.
Transubstantiation, made an article of the church, i. 287.
Treaty of Arras, ii. 118.
Blois, ii. 304.
Eslingen ii. 128.
Munich, i. 468.
Presburg, ii. 110. 370.
Trausnitz, i. 467.
Trent, ii. 298.
Trémouille, Louis, general of France, ii. 123. Commands under Charles VIII. in Italy, 282. Overruns the Milanese, 352. Deceives the Swiss, 356.

Treves, archbishop of, his rank, i. 96. Chancellor of Arles, 352.
Treviso, joins the league against Frederic I. i. 256.
Trivulzio, Gian-Giacomo, general of Naples, deserts Ferdinand II. ii. 276. Serves under Charles VIII. 282. Made viceroy of Milan, 295. Expelled 296. Overruns the Milanese, 352. Leads the French across the Alps, 360.
Troia, besieged by Henry II. i. 132.
Truce of God, instituted, i. 139.
Turkish Commanders, grades of, ii. 179. *note*.
Turks their advance into Europe, ii. 25. Siege of Belgrade, 100. Their ravages in Greece, 181. And Friuli, 183. They land in Italy, 228. They abandon Italy, 230.
Tuscany, dutchy of, i. 86. 217.
——, republics of, i. 212. Their struggle with the nobles, 265. Their league against the emperor, 277. See Florence, Pisa, &c.
Tusculum, city of, defeat of the Romans before, i. 249. Submits to the Romans, 254.
——, counts of, i. 133.
Tyre, ceded to Frederic II. i. 297.
Tyrol, i. 491. 496. Vested in the house of Austria, ii. 88. Surrendered to Maximilian, 259.

U.

Uban, elected king of Hungary, slain, i. 142.
Ubbriaco, admiral of Genoa, defeated off Meloria, i. 312.
Uberti, see Farinata.
Ubertini, Guglielmo degl', bishop and governor of Arezzo, i. 430.
Ugolino de' Gherardeschi, count, admiral of Pisa, seizes the government, i. 427. His miserable death, 428.
Uladislaus II. king of Bohemia, ii. 109. And VI. of Hungary, 110. 370.
—— III. king of Poland, deposed, i. 390.
—— V. king of Poland, ii. 41. 89. Slain at Warna, 93.
Ulric, duke of Carinthia, i. 357.
—— of Lenzburg, duke of Tuscany, i. 217.
——, count of Cilli, regent of Austria, ii. 99. Slain by Ladislaus Corvinus, 101.
——, count of Kyburg, i. 346.
Umfredo, count of Apulia, i. 145.
Universities, foundation of, in Germany, ii. 80.
Unterwalden, canton of, i. 394. Throws off the imperial yoke, 404.
Urban II. Pope, i. 171.
—— III. Pope, opposes Frederic I. i. 266.
—— IV. Pope, i. 332. Invites Charles of Anjou to Sicily, ibid.

Urban V. Pope, i. 536. Removes from Avignon, ibid. Returns to Avignon and dies, 540.
—— VI. Pope, i. 543. His death, ii. 12.
Urbino, raised to a dutchy, ii. 136. *note*. Seized by Cæsar Borgia, 312. Seized by Leo X. 366.
Uri, canton of, i. 394. Throws off the imperial yoke, 404.
Urantia, dutchess of Benevento, i. 32.

V.

Valdrade, mistress of Lothaire, king of Lorraine, i. 71. Her marriage and divorce, 72.
Valenciennes, county of, ceded to Flanders, i. 129.
Valvassors and *Valvassins*, i. 137.
Vannes, capital of Bretainy, taken by Pepin i. 10.
Vanozia, the courtezan, mistress of Alexander VI. ii. 249.
Varona, Giovanni da, recalled to Camerino, ii, 314.
——, Giuliano da, lord of Camerino, strangled by Cæsar Borgia, ii. 313.
Vassali-Ivanovitch, duke of Muscovy, ii. 370.
Vatican, library of, founded by Nicholas V. ii. 132.
Venice, origin of, i. 217. Her conquests in Dalmatia and Italy, 221. Treaty of, between Alexander III. and Frederic I. 260. Her conquests, 419. Her wars with Genoa, 420. Her government, ibid. Election of the doge, 421. Council of Ten instituted, 424. Affairs of, ii. 176. Her acquirements on Terra firma, ibid. 177. Her eastern possessions, 178. Her war with the Turks, 179. Her government, 185. And councils, 186. 190. Invites the Turks into Italy, 228. Her war with Ferrara, 231. Laid under an interdict, 233. Her prosperity, 327. League of Cambray against her, 329. Excommunicated, 330. Abandons Terra firma, 331. Recovery from her loss, 332. Absolved by the Pope, 335. Again loses her possessions on Terra firma, 354. Recovery of her possessions, 369. *note*.
Vercelli, joins the league against Frederic I. i. 256.
Verona, taken by Charlemagne, i. 13. Assumes a republican government 211. Her early warfare, 212. Joins the league against Frederic I. 256. Submits to Eccelino da Romano, 303. And to the Scala, 416. 447. 470. Seized by the Visconti, 148. Surrendered to the Carrara, 150. And to Venice, 177. Surrendered to Maximilian, 332. Mortgaged to Louis XII. 337. Occupied by the Papal troops, 366. Besieged by the French, 367. Restored to the Venetians, 368.
Vestarini, lords of Lodi, their cruelty, i. 428. *note*.
Vicenza, joins the league against Frederic I. i. 256. Taken by Frederic II. 303. Seized by Eccelino da Romano, 323. Becomes dependent on Padua, 416. Submits to the Scala, 447. Seized by the Visconti. ii. 148.

Ceded to Venice, 150. Surrendered to Maximilian, 332. Retaken by Venice, 334. Retaken by the French, 336. By the Venetians, 338.
Vico, Giovanni da, prefect of Rome, i. 514.
Victor II. Pope, i. 144.
—— III. Pope, i. 171.
—— IV. Antipope, in 1138, i. 203.
—— IV. Antipope, in 1159, i. 241. Gains possession of the Leonine city, ibid. His death, 247.
Vienna, taken from the Huns by Charlemagne, i. 29. Besieged by Rodolph of Hapsburg, 357. University founded, ii. 80. Taken by Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, 109.
Villani, Giovanni, his chronicle, i. 214. His death, 512. *note*.
Virgil, his magical powers, ii. 79. *note*.
Visconte, Agnese, put to death, ii. 149. *note*. 160.
——, Astorre, claims the dutchy of Milan, ii. 151.
——, Azzo, i. 479. 487. His death, 512.
——, Bernabò, i. 514. 540. Put to death, ii. 148.
——, Bianca, married to Francesco Sforza, ii. 155.
——, cardinal, ii. 236. *note*.
——, Carlo, assassinates Sforza, duke of Milan, ii. 159.
——, Caterina, dutchess of Milan, ii. 148. 150.
——, Filippo-Maria, duke of Milan, his generosity, ii. 145. His reign, 151. And death, 155.
——, Gabriello, lord of Pisa, ii. 150. 212.
——, Galeazzo I. made vicar of Placentia, i. 452. Lord of Milan, 470. His death, 478.
——, Galeazzo II. lord of Milan, i. 514. He loses Asti, 528.
——, Gian-Galeazzo, first duke of Milan, ii. 15. 148. His death, 18. 149.
——, Gian-Maria, duke of Milan, his cruelty, ii. 151. His assassination, ibid.
——, Giovanni, archbishop of Milan, i. 512.
——, Lodrisio, i. 518.
——, Luchino, i. 473. 512. 518. ii. 164.
——, Marco, i. 472. 479.
——, Matteo I. lord of Milan, i. 414. Expelled, ibid. Returns with Henry VII. 445. Made imperial vicar of Milan, 452.
——, Matteo II. lord of Lodi, i. 514.
——, Ottone, archbishop of Milan, i. 413. Seizes the government, ibid.
——, Stefano, i. 473. 514.
——, Uberto, of Placentia, podestà of Milan, i. 302.
——, Valentina, married to Louis, duke of Orleans, ii. 156. *note*. 284.
Vitale, Michele, doge of Venice, his misconduct and death, i. 420.
Vitelli, Nicolò, lord of Citta di Castello, ii. 216.

Vitelli, Vitellozzo, lord of Città di Castello, ii. 313. Strangled by Cæsar Borgia, 315.
Vittoria, town of, built and destroyed, i. 317.
Votes of electors, disputes concerning, i. 456. Settled by the golden bull, 534.

W.

Waiblingen, see Guelphs and Ghibellins.
Waifar, duke of Aquitaine, conquered by Pepin, i. 7.
Walcheren, island of, ceded to Flanders, i. 129.
Waldemar, son of Canute, king of the Abodrites, i. 201. Becomes king of Denmark, ibid. *note*.
——, margrave of Brandenburg, i. 456.
Walla, abbot of Corbie, i. 59. His imprisonment, ibid.
Walram of Luxemburg, brother of Henry VII, killed before Brescia, i. 446.
Walter de Brienne, duke of Athens, see de Brienne.
Walter, baron of Eschenbach, assassinates Albert I. i. 406.
Warfare, alteration of the Italian, ii. 256.
Wehmic Court, Voltaire's mistake concerning, i. 40. *note*. Institution of, ii. 73. Attempts to curb its jurisdiction, 301.
Wenceslaus I. duke of Bohemia, murdered by his brother, i. 99.
—— IV. king of Bohemia, i. 359. Conspires against Adolphus, king of the Romans, 374. His death, 390.
—— V. king of Bohemia, assassinated, i. 390.
—— VI. king of Bohemia, i. 535. Elected king of the Romans, 544. His imprisonment, ii. 14. His death, 23.
Werner, elector of Mentz, proposes the election of Rodolph I. i. 352.
——, bishop of Strasburg, builds the castle of Hapsburg, i. 346.
——, baron of Attinghausen, landamman of the Swiss, i. 397.
——, his company of mercenaries, i. 518.
Westphalia, united to Cologne, i. 264. *note*.
Westphalians, a tribe of Saxons, i. 10.
Wichmann, bishop of Magdeburg, i. 202.
Wichliff, his doctrines disseminated by John Huss, ii. 33.
Wilheim von Grumbach, ii. 302. *note*.
William I. king of England, i. 166. 168.
——, count of Holland, elected king of Germany, i. 317. His death, 331.
—— I. king of Sicily, i. 225. 230. Quells the disorders of the kingdom, 233. Invested with Sicily, Naples, &c. by the Pope, 234. Acknowledges Pope Alexander III. 243. His death, 248.
—— II. king of Sicily, i. 248. Declines the alliance of Frederic I. 254. His marriage with Joan of England, 265. His death, 270.

—— III. king of Sicily, i. 273. His dethronement, ibid.
——, archbishop of Tyre, invites Frederic I. to join the third crusade, i. 267.
——, duke of Apulia, i. 191.
—— III. marquis of Montferrat, the ally of Frederic I. i. 252.
—— V. marquis of Montferrat, captain of Milan, i. 413. His imprisonment and death in an iron cage, 414.
——, son of Leopold II. duke of Austria, ii. 139.
Willigis, archbishop of Mentz, i. 122.
Wiltzan, king of the Abodrites, slain by the Saxons, i. 34.
Wilzes, a Sclavonian tribe, i. 11. Conquered by Charlemagne, 27.
Witikind, chief of the Saxons, defeated by Charlemagne, i. 11.
——, the historian, ii. 81.
Wohlgemuth, Michael, founder of the Nuremberg school of painting, ii. 83. *note*.
Wolfenschies, governor of Rossberg Castle, slain by Conrad Baumgarten, i. 400.
Wolfgang of Bavaria-Munich, claims the estates of George, duke of Bavaria-Landshut, ii. 321.
Wratislaus, created king of Bohemia, i. 170.

Y.

Yolande, empress of Frederic, i. 292. Her death, 296.
——, daughter of René I. duke of Lorraine, ii. 262.

Z.

Zachary, Pope, i. 6.
Zaddo, governor of Catalonia, reduced by Lewis, king of Aquitaine, i. 41.
Zama, governor of Spain, defeated and killed, i. 4.
Zealand, part of, ceded to Flanders, i. 129. Vested in the house of Burgundy, ii. 117.
Ziska, John, his ravages, 35. His death, 36.
Zizim, son of Mahomed, ii. 230. Brought to Rome, 246. Delivered to Charles VIII. 274. His death, 275
Zuentibold, king of Lorraine, i. 82.
——, king of Moravia, i. 83.
Zug, joins the Swiss confederacy, i. 497.
Zurich, joins the Swiss confederacy, i. 497.
Zutphen, purchased by Charles, duke of Burgundy, ii. 117.

APPENDIX.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

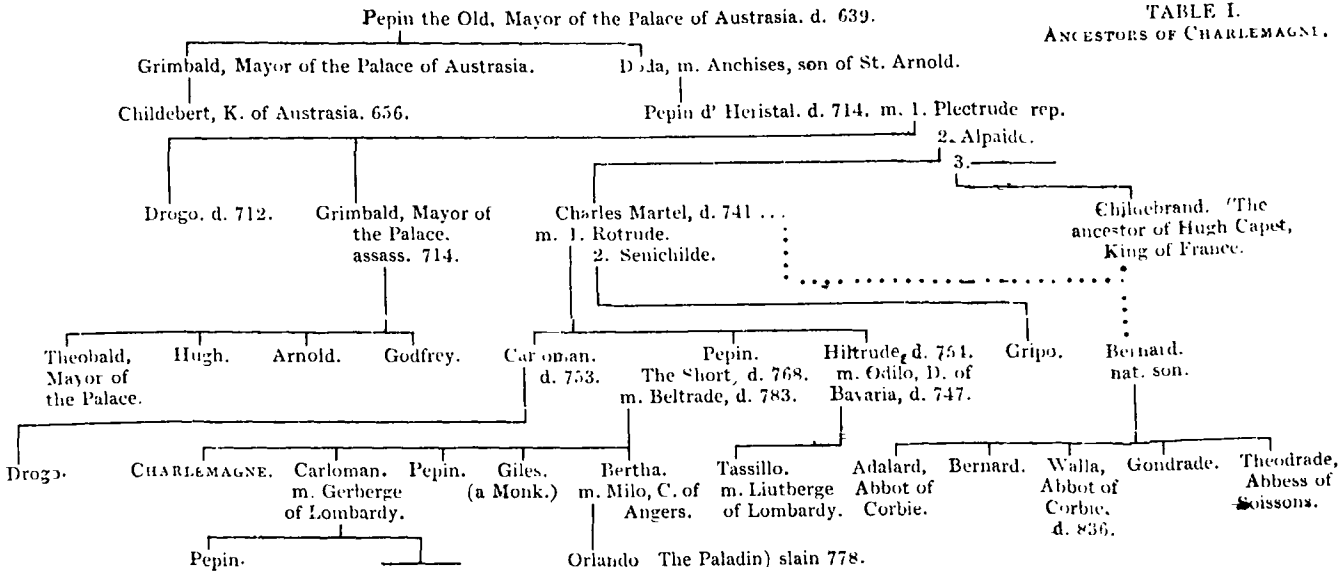
I. Ancestors of Charlemagne.
II. Progeny of Charlemagne.
III. Descendants of Charles the Bald.
IV. Kings of Burgundy.
V. Family of Berenger I.
VI. Family of Hugh, King of Italy.
VII. Emperors of the house of Saxony.
VIII. Emperors of the house of Franconia.
IX. Emperors of the house of Swabia.
X. Dukes of Lower Lorraine, or Brabant.
XI. Union of the families of Guelph and Este.
XII The Guelph family, continued.
XIII. The family of Este, continued.
XIV. Margraves of Austria.
XV. Dukes of Austria, of the first race.
XVI. Kings of Hungary.
XVII. Kings of Hungary, continued.
XVIII. Kings and Dukes of Poland.
XIX. Kings of Bohemia.
XX. Counts of Savoy.
XXI. Family of Roger, king of Sicily.
XXII. Anjevin Sovereigns of Naples.
XXIII. Aragonese Kings of Sicily.
XXIV. The House of Austria.
XXV. The House of Luxemburg.
XXVI. The House of Burgundy.
XXVII. Union of Tyrol and Carinthia.
XXVIII. Kings of Poland, of the line of Jagello.
XXIX. Dukes of Bavaria.
XXX. Division of Bavaria.
XXXI. Counts palatine of the house of Bavaria.
XXXII. Dukes of Saxony { Part I. Saxe-Wittenberg. / Part II. Saxe-Lauenburg.

XXXIII. Margraves of Brandenburg, of the house of Ballenstadt.
XXXIV. Margraves of Brandenburg, of the house of Hohenzollern.
XXXV. Marquisses of Montferrat { Part I. 938—1338. Part II. 1338—1533.
XXXVI. Dukes of Savoy.
XXXVII. The Visconti, Lords of Milan.
XXXVIII. The Sforza, Dukes of Milan.
XXXIX. The Scala, Lords of Verona.
XL. The Gonzaghi, Lords of Mantua.
XLI. The Carrara, Lords of Padua.
XLII. The Medici.
XLIII. Dukes of Ferrara.
XLIV. The Malatesti, Lords of Rimini.
XLV. The Ordelaffi, Lords of Forli.
XLVI. The Montefeltri, Lords of Urbino.
XLVII. The Manfredi, Lords of Faenza and Imola.
XLVIII. The Polenta, Lords of Ravenna.
XLIX. Second race of Anjevin Kings of Naples.
L. Aragonese Kings of Naples.
LI. Family of Maximilian.

NOTE.—*The dotted line denotes bastardy.*

TABLE I.

ANCESTORS OF CHARLEMAGNE.


Pepin the Old, Mayor of the Palace of Austrasia. d. 639.
Grimbald, Mayor of the Palace of Austrasia.
Childebert, K. of Austrasia. 656.
Drogo. d. 712.
Grimbald, Mayor of the Palace. assass. 714.
Theobald, Mayor of the Palace.
Hugh.
Arnold.
Godfrey.
Drogo.
Doda, m. Anchises, son of St. Arnold.
Pepin d' Heristal. d. 714. m. 1. Plectrude rep.
2. Alpaide.
3.
Charles Martel, d. 741 ... m. 1. Rotrude. 2. Senichilde.
Chilcebrand. The ancestor of Hugh Capet, King of France.
Caroloman. d. 753.
Pepin. The Short, d. 768. m. Beltrade, d. 783.
Hiltrude, d. 754. m. Odilo, D. of Bavaria, d. 747.
Gripo.
Bernard. nat. son.
CHARLEMAGNE.
Carloman. m. Gerberge of Lombardy.
Pepin.
Giles. (a Monk.)
Bertha. m. Milo, C. of Angers.
Tassillo. m. Liutberge of Lombardy.
Adalard, Abbot of Corbie.
Bernard.
Walla, Abbot of Corbie. d. 836.
Gondrade.
Theodrade, Abbess of Soissons.
Pepin.
Orlando The Paladin) slain 778.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
LIBRARY
OF THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE

TABLE II.

Progeny of Charlemagne.

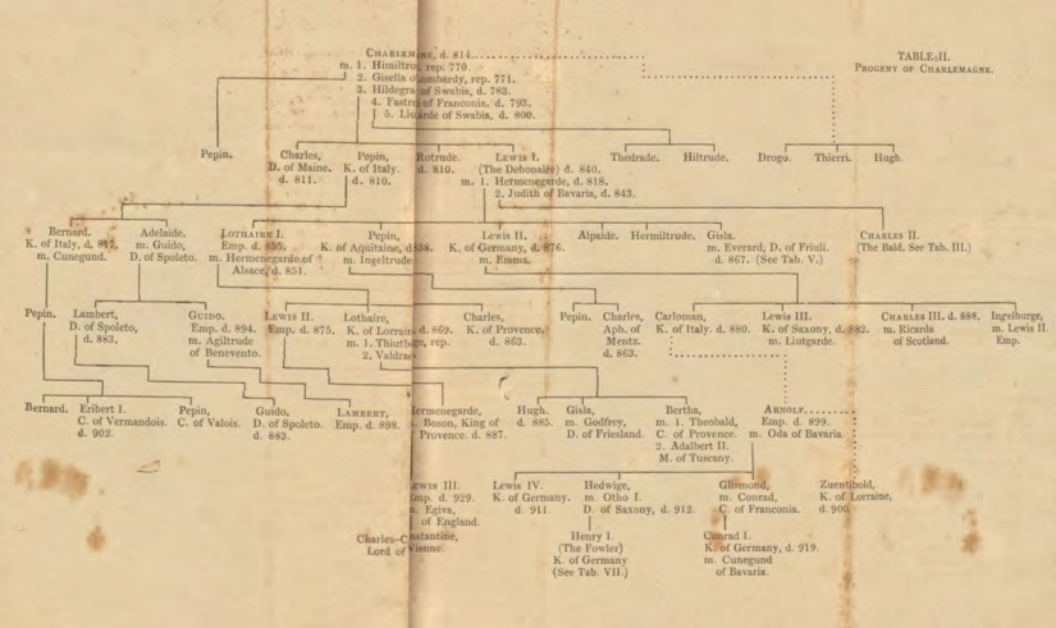

Charlemagne, d. 814.
m. 1. Himiltrud, rep. 770.
2. Gisella of Lombardy, rep. 771.
3. Hildegrade of Swabia, d. 783.
4. Fastrade of Franconia, d. 793.
5. Liutgarde of Swabia, d. 800.
Pepin.
Charles, D. of Maine. d. 811.
Pepin, K. of Italy. d. 810.
Rotrude. d. 810.
Lewis I. (The Debonaire) d. 840. m. 1. Hermengarde, d. 818. 2. Judith of Bavaria, d. 843.
Thedrade.
Hiltrude.
Drogo.
Thierri.
Hugh.
Bernard. K. of Italy, d. 817. m. Cunegund.
Adelaide. m. Guido, D. of Spoleto.
Lothaire I. Emp. d. 855. m. Hermengarde of Alsace, d. 851.
Pepin, K. of Aquitaine, d. 838. m. Ingeltrude
Lewis II, K. of Germany, d. 876. m. Emma.
Alpaide.
Hermiltrude.
Gisla. m. Everard, D. of Friuli. d. 867. (See Tab. V.)
Charles II. (The Bald, See Tab. III.)
Pepin.
Lambert, D. of Spoleto, d. 883.
Guido. Emp. d. 894. m. Agiltrude of Benevento.
Lewis II. Emp. d. 875.
Lothaire, K. of Lorraine, d. 869. m. 1. Thiutberge, rep. 2. Valdrada.
Charles, K. of Provence, d. 863.
Pepin.
Charles, Apb. of Mentz. d. 863.
Carloman, K. of Italy. d. 880.
Lewis III. K. of Saxony, d. 882. m. Liutgarde.
Charles III, d. 888. m. Ricarda of Scotland.
Ingelburge, m. Lewis II. Emp.
Bernard.
Eribert I. C. of Vermandois. d. 902.
Pepin, C. of Valois.
Guido, D. of Spoleto. d. 883.
Lambert, Emp. d. 898.
Hermengarde, m. Boson, King of Provence. d. 887.
Hugh. d. 885.
Gisla, m. Godfrey, D. of Friesland.
Bertha, m. 1. Theobald, C. of Provence. 2. Adalbert II. M. of Tuscany.
Arnolf. Emp. d. 899. m. Oda of Bavaria.
Lewis III. Emp. d. 929. m. Egiva, of England.
Charles Constantine, Lord of Vienne.
Lewis IV. K. of Germany. d. 911.
Hedwige, m. Otho I. D. of Saxony, d. 912.
Henry I. (The Fowler) K. of Germany (See Tab. VII.)
Glismond, m. Conrad, C. of Franconia.
Conrad I. K. of Germany, d. 919. m. Cunegund of Bavaria.
Zuentibold, K. of Lorraine, d. 900.

TABLE III.

DESCENDANTS OF CHARLES THE BALD.

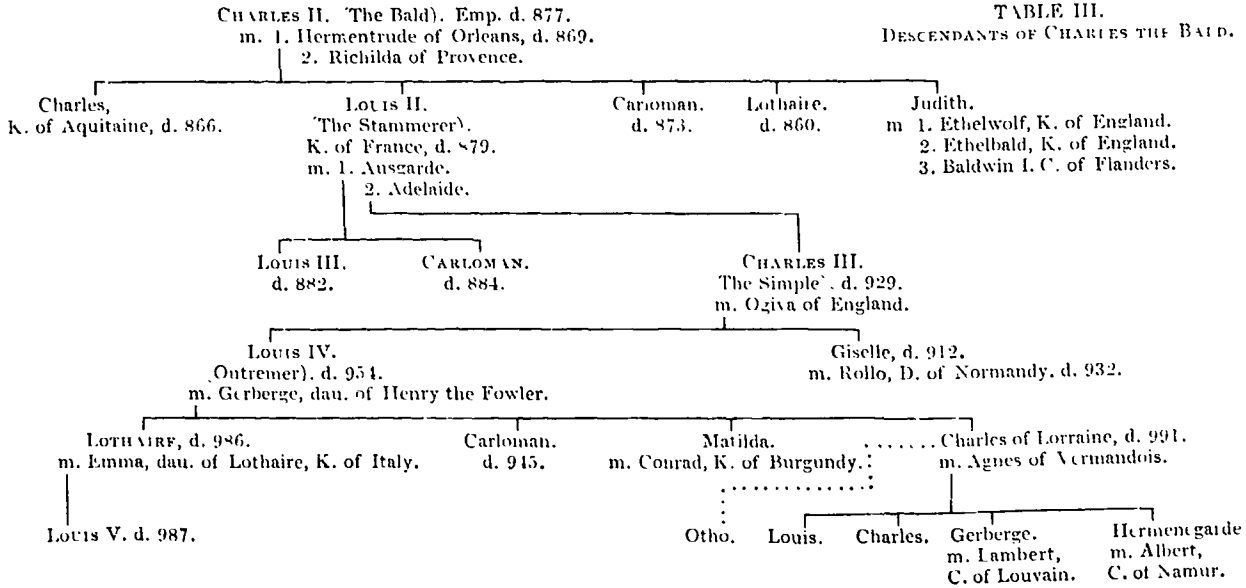

CHARLES II. The Bald). Emp. d. 877.
m. 1. Hermentrude of Orleans, d. 869.
2. Richilda of Provence.
Charles, K. of Aquitaine, d. 866.
Louis II. The Stammerer). K. of France, d. 879.
m. 1. Ansgarde.
2. Adelaide.
Carloman. d. 873.
Lothaire. d. 860.
Judith.
m 1. Ethelwolf, K. of England.
2. Ethelbald, K. of England.
3. Baldwin I. C. of Flanders.
LOUIS III. d. 882.
CARLOMAN. d. 884.
CHARLES III. The Simple). d. 929.
m. Ogiva of England.
LOUIS IV. Outremer). d. 954.
m. Gerberge, dau. of Henry the Fowler.
Giselle, d. 912.
m. Rollo, D. of Normandy. d. 932.
LOTHAIRE, d. 986.
m. Emma, dau. of Lothaire, K. of Italy.
Carloman. d. 945.
Matilda.
m. Conrad, K. of Burgundy.
Charles of Lorraine, d. 991.
m. Agnes of Vermandois.
LOUIS V. d. 987.
Otho.
Louis.
Charles.
Gerberge. m. Lambert, C. of Louvain.
Hermengarde m. Albert, C. of Namur.

TABLE IV.
KINGS OF BURGUNDY.

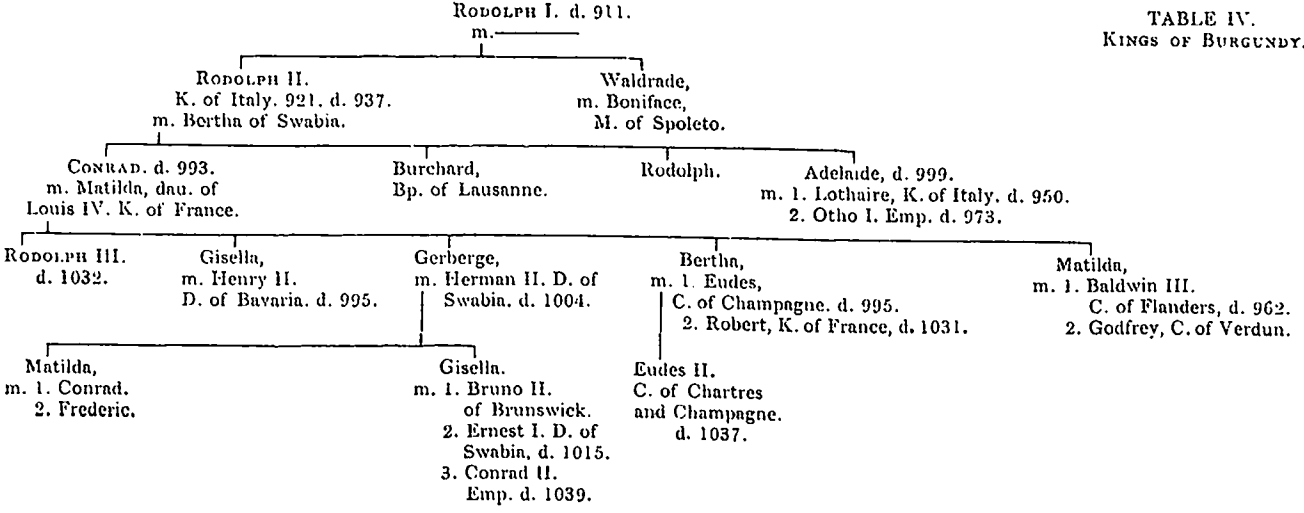


TABLE VI.

FAMILY OF HUGH, KING OF ITALY.

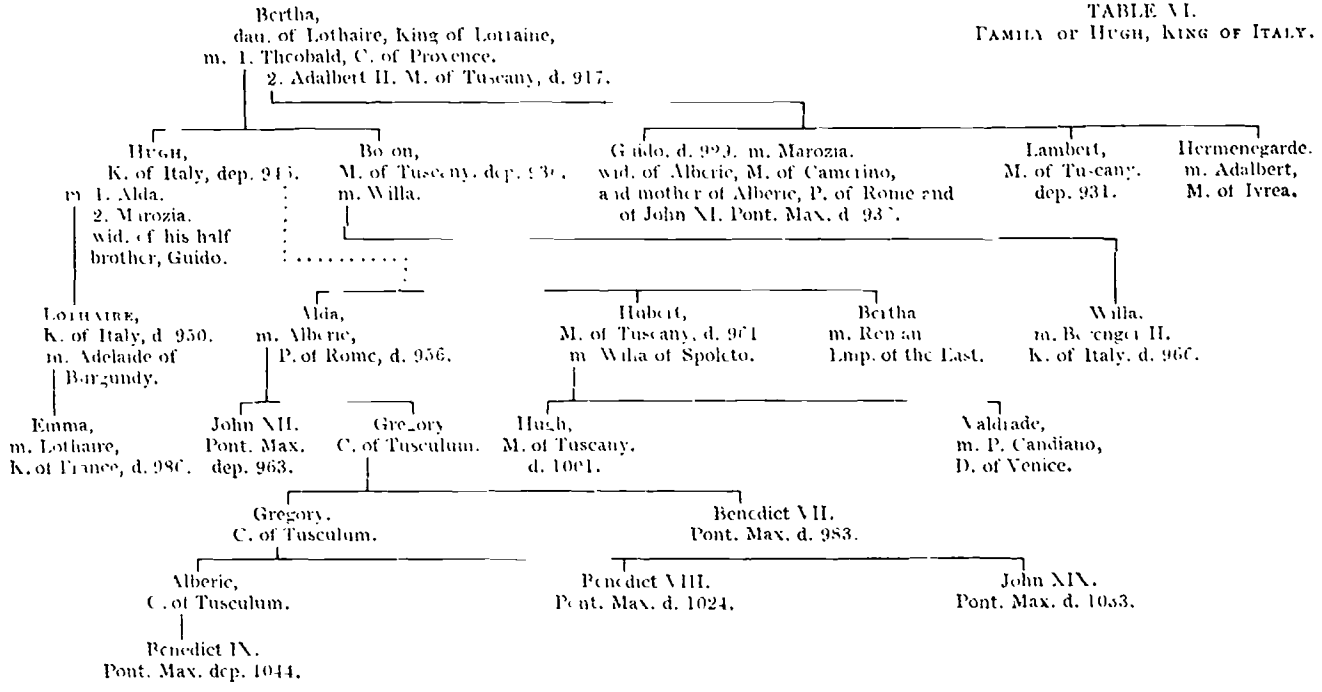


TABLE VII.

Emperors of the House of Saxony.

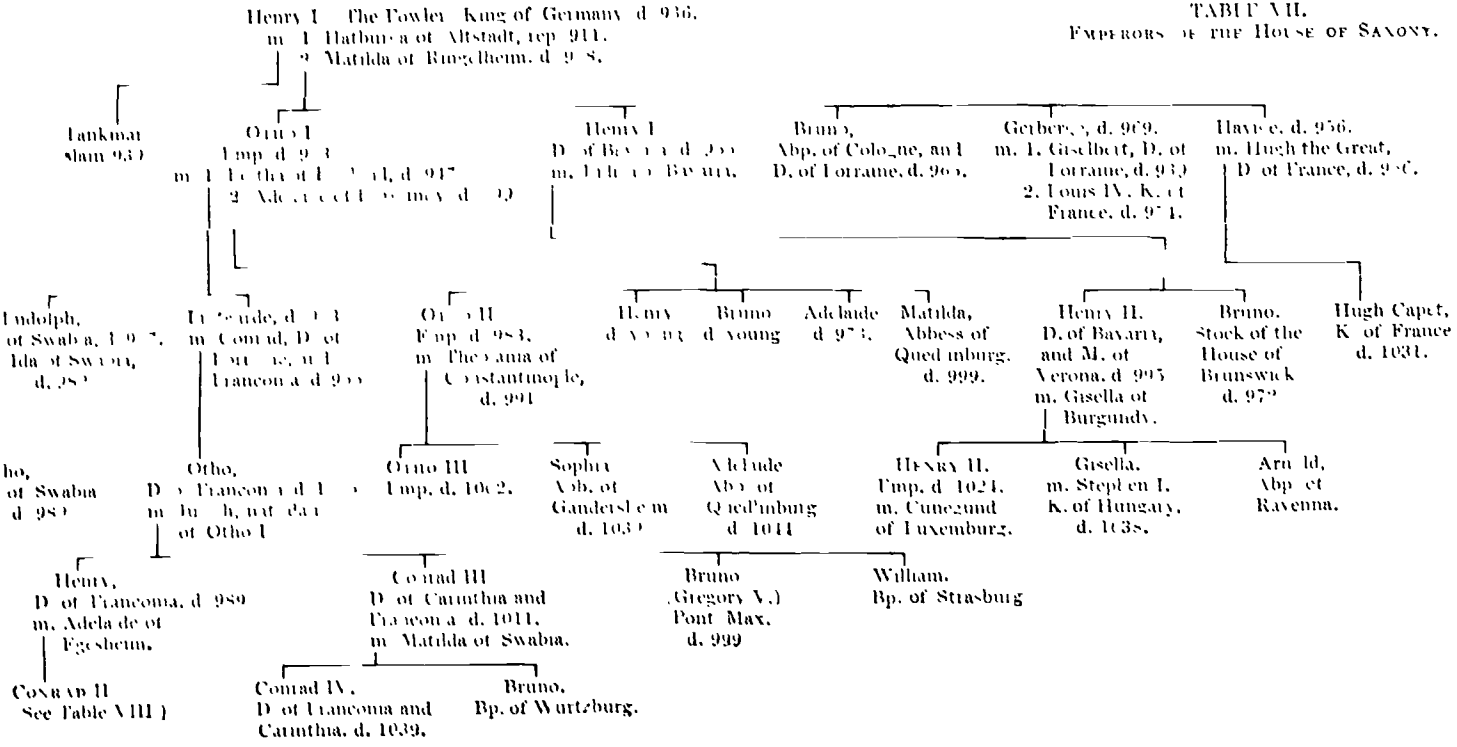


TABLE VIII.

EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF FRANCONIA.

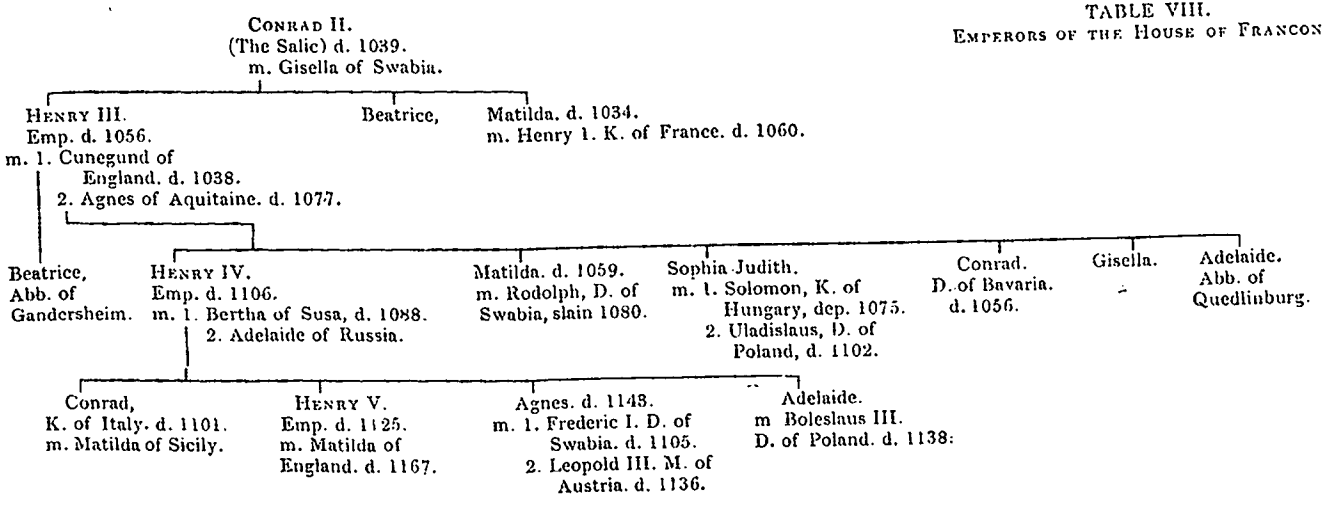


TABLE IX.
EMPERORS OF THE HOUSE OF SWABIA.

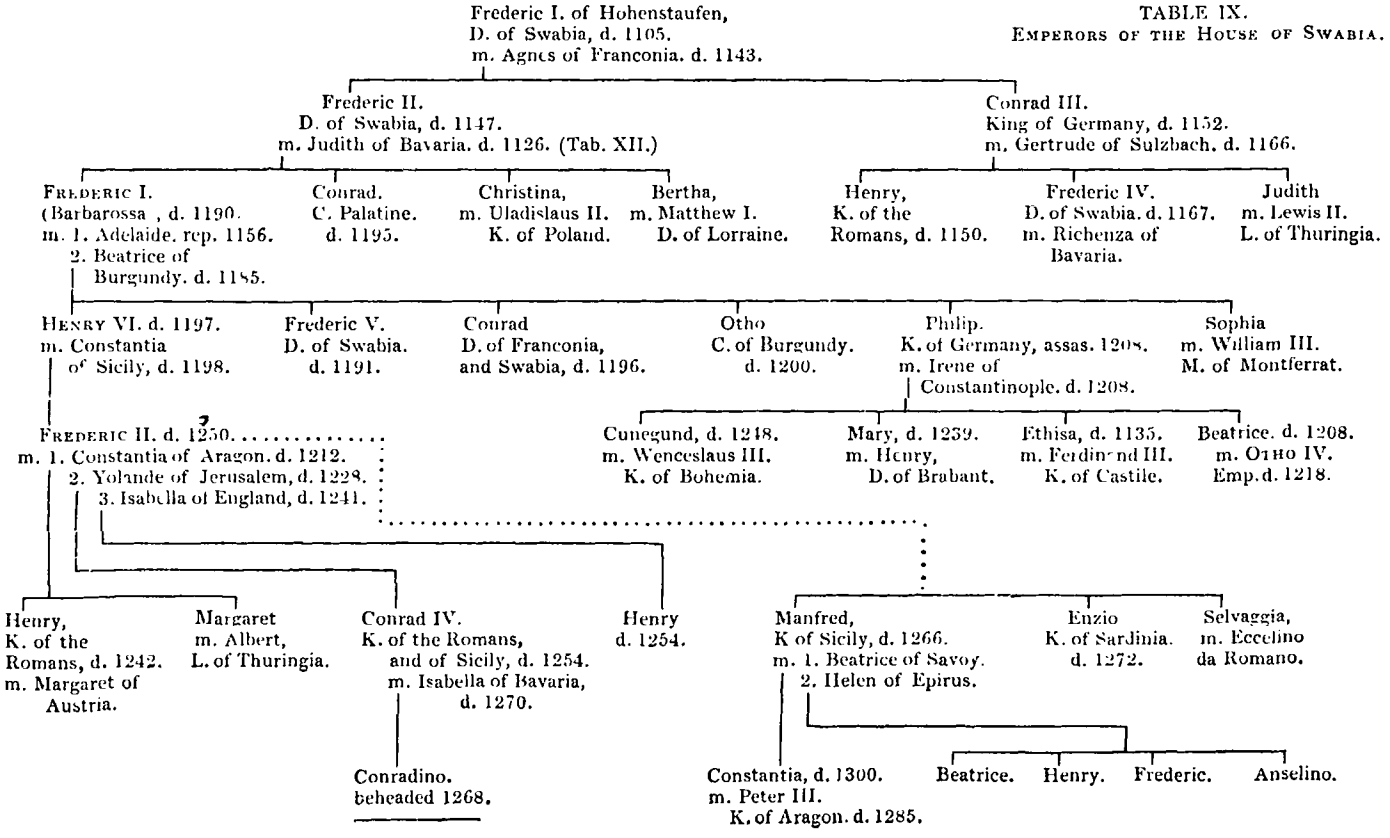

Frederic I. of Hohenstaufen, D. of Swabia, d. 1105. m. Agnes of Franconia. d. 1143.
Frederic II. D. of Swabia, d. 1147. m. Judith of Bavaria. d. 1126. (Tab. XII.)
Conrad III. King of Germany, d. 1152. m. Gertrude of Sulzbach. d. 1166.
FREDERIC I. (Barbarossa, d. 1190. m. 1. Adelaide. rep. 1156. 2. Beatrice of Burgundy. d. 1185.
Conrad. C. Palatine. d. 1195.
Christina, m. Uladislaus II. K. of Poland.
Bertha, m. Matthew I. D. of Lorraine.
Henry, K. of the Romans, d. 1150.
Frederic IV. D. of Swabia. d. 1167. m. Richenza of Bavaria.
Judith m. Lewis II. L. of Thuringia.
HENRY VI. d. 1197. m. Constantia of Sicily, d. 1198.
Frederic V. D. of Swabia. d. 1191.
Conrad D. of Franconia, and Swabia, d. 1196.
Otho C. of Burgundy. d. 1200.
Philip. K. of Germany, assas. 1208. m. Irene of Constantinople. d. 1208.
Sophia m. William III. M. of Montferrat.
FREDERIC II. d. 1250. m. 1. Constantia of Aragon. d. 1212. 2. Yolande of Jerusalem, d. 1228. 3. Isabella of England, d. 1241.
Cunegund, d. 1248. m. Wenceslaus III. K. of Bohemia.
Mary, d. 1239. m. Henry, D. of Brabant.
Ethisa, d. 1135. m. Ferdinand III. K. of Castile.
Beatrice. d. 1208. m. OTHO IV. Emp. d. 1218.
Henry, K. of the Romans, d. 1242. m. Margaret of Austria.
Margaret m. Albert, L. of Thuringia.
Conrad IV. K. of the Romans, and of Sicily, d. 1254. m. Isabella of Bavaria, d. 1270.
Henry d. 1254.
Manfred, K of Sicily, d. 1266. m. 1. Beatrice of Savoy. 2. Helen of Epirus.
Enzio K. of Sardinia. d. 1272.
Selvaggia, m. Eccelino da Romano.
Conradino. beheaded 1268.
Constantia, d. 1300. m. Peter III. K. of Aragon. d. 1285.
Beatrice.
Henry.
Frederic.
Anselino.

TABLE X.

DUKES OF LOWER LORRAINE, OR BRABANT.

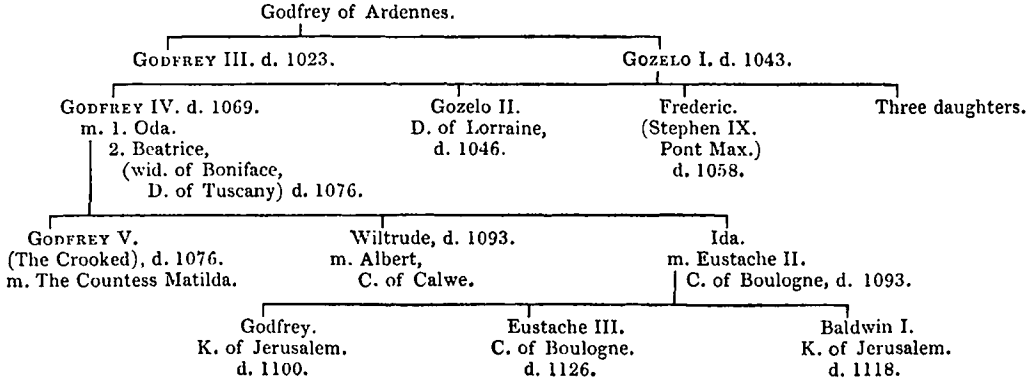


TABLE XI.

Union of the Families of Guelph and D'Este.

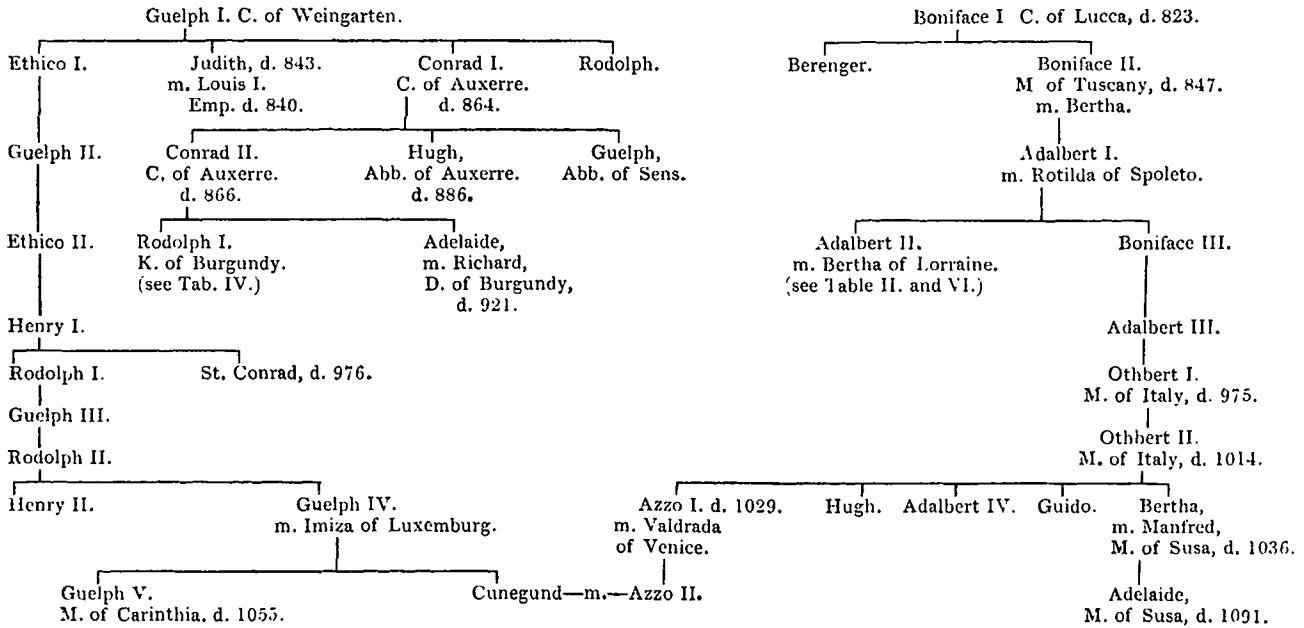

Guelph I. C. of Weingarten.
Ethico I.
Judith, d. 843. m. Louis I. Emp. d. 840.
Conrad I. C. of Auxerre. d. 864.
Rodolph.
Guelph II.
Conrad II. C. of Auxerre. d. 866.
Hugh, Abb. of Auxerre. d. 886.
Guelph, Abb. of Sens.
Ethico II.
Rodolph I. K. of Burgundy. (see Tab. IV.)
Adelaide, m. Richard, D. of Burgundy, d. 921.
Henry I.
Rodolph I.
St. Conrad, d. 976.
Guelph III.
Rodolph II.
Henry II.
Guelph IV. m. Imiza of Luxemburg.
Guelph V. M. of Carinthia, d. 1055.
Cunegund—m.—Azzo II.
Azzo I. d. 1029. m. Valdrada of Venice.
Boniface I C. of Lucca, d. 823.
Berenger.
Boniface II. M of Tuscany, d. 847. m. Bertha.
Adalbert I. m. Rotilda of Spoleto.
Adalbert II. m. Bertha of Lorraine. (see Table II. and VI.)
Boniface III.
Adalbert III.
Othbert I. M. of Italy, d. 975.
Othbert II. M. of Italy, d. 1014.
Hugh.
Adalbert IV.
Guido.
Bertha, m. Manfred, M. of Susa, d. 1036.
Adelaide, M. of Susa, d. 1091.

TABLE XII.
THE GUELPH FAMILY, CONTINUED.

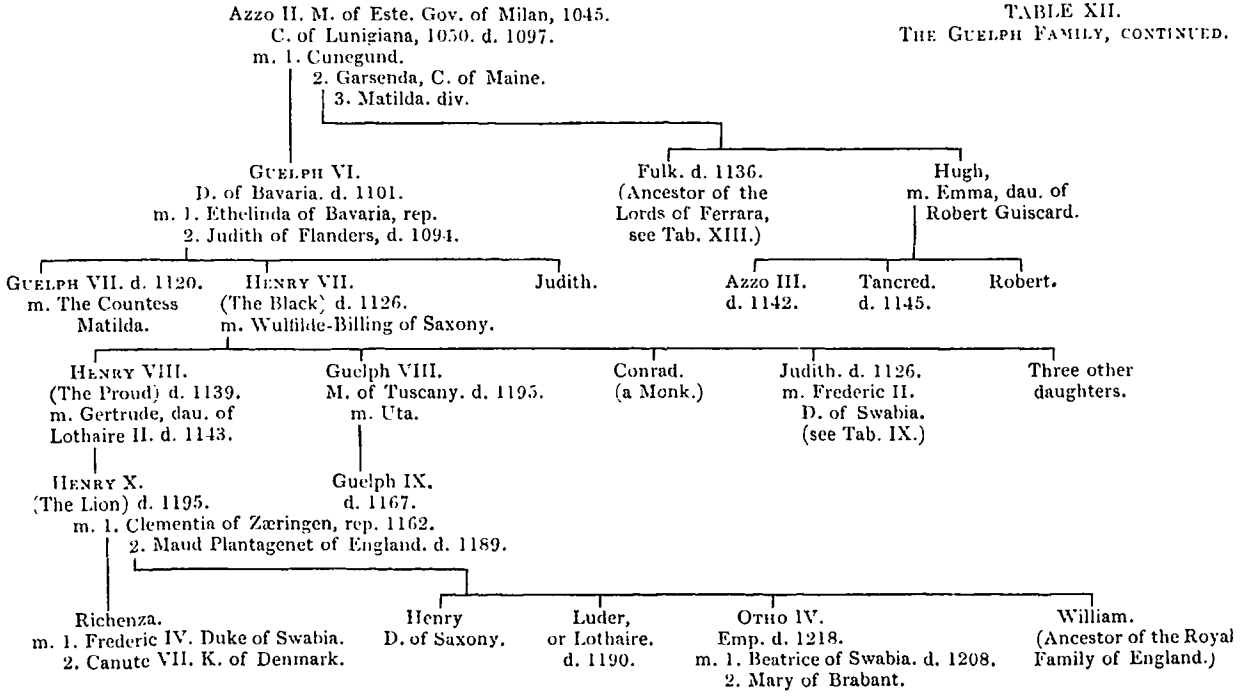


TABLE XIII.

The Family of Este, continued.

*** The capitals denote Lords of Ferrara.

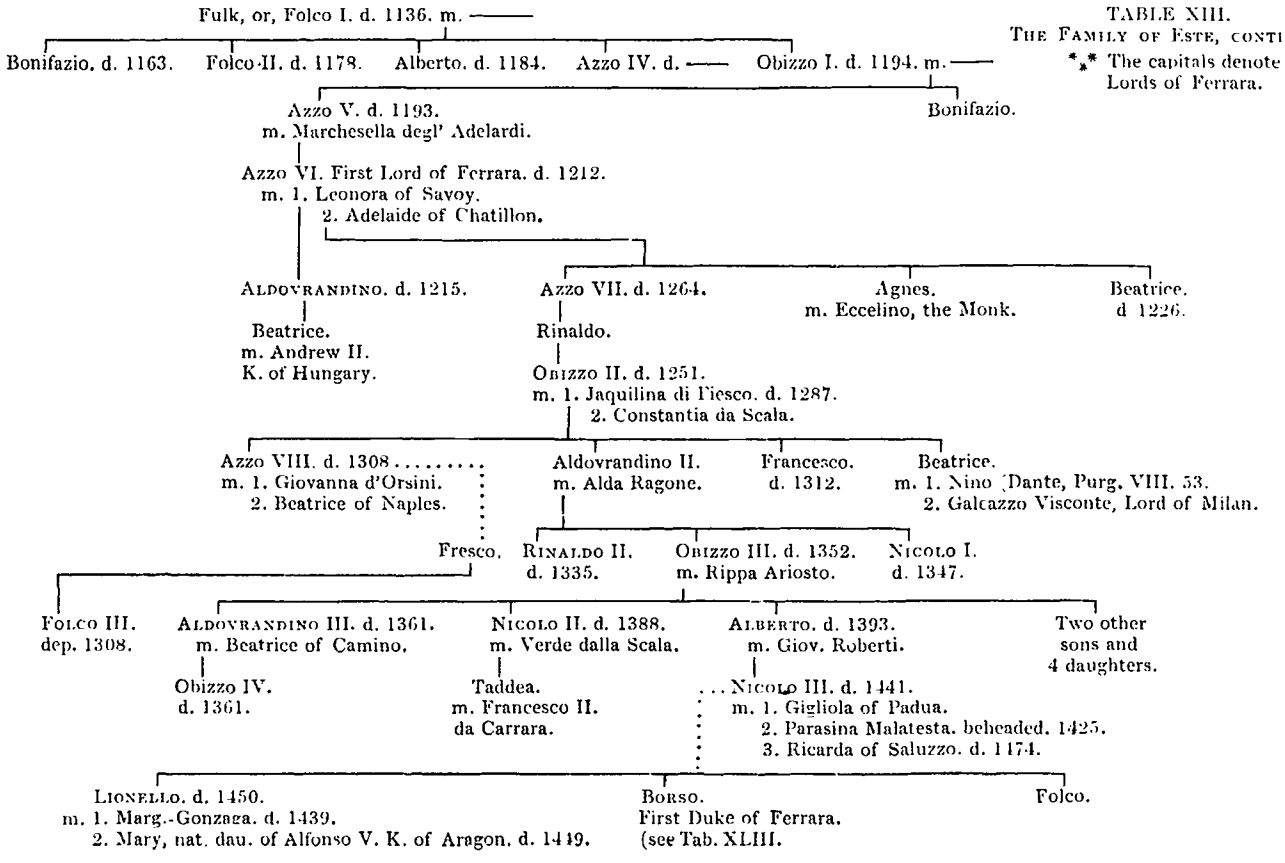


TABLE XIV.
MARGRAVES OF AUSTRIA.

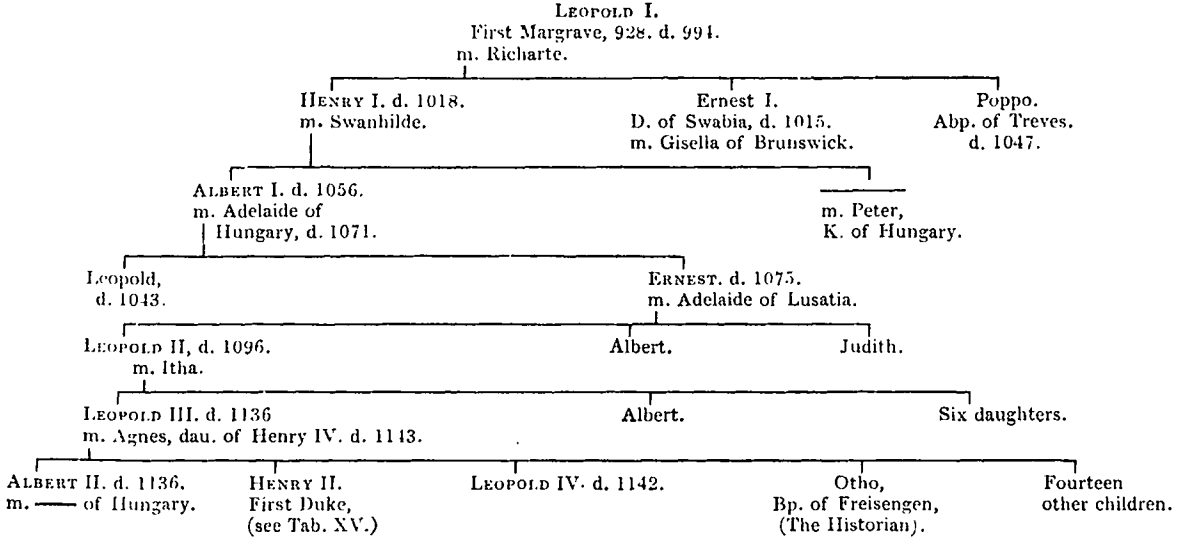


TABLE XV.

DUKES OF AUSTRIA OF THE FIRST RACE.

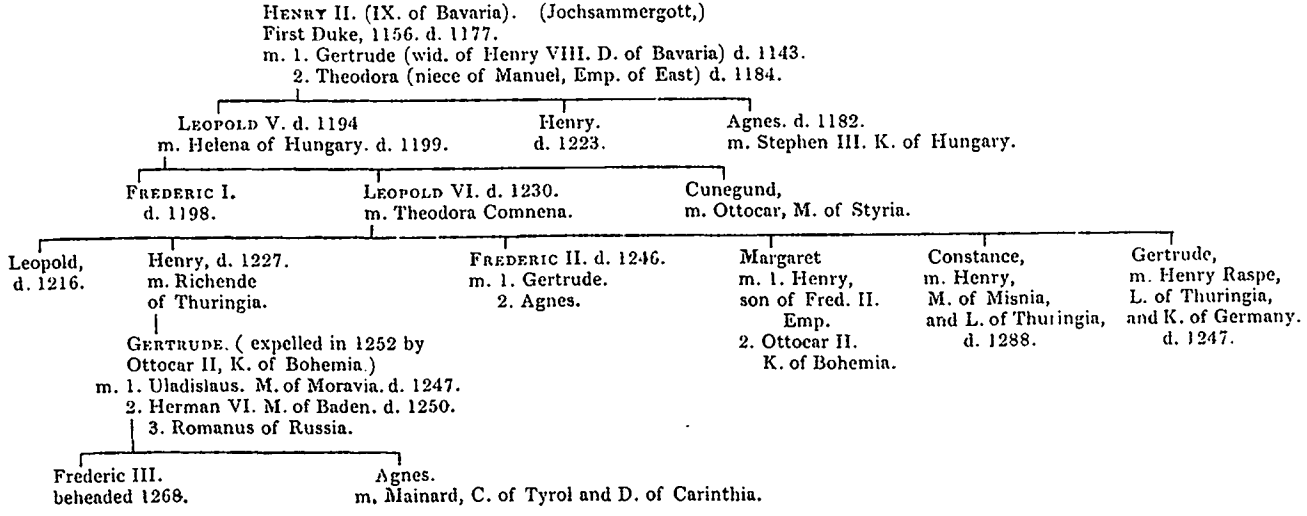


TABLE XVI.
KINGS OF HUNGARY. 1000—1309.

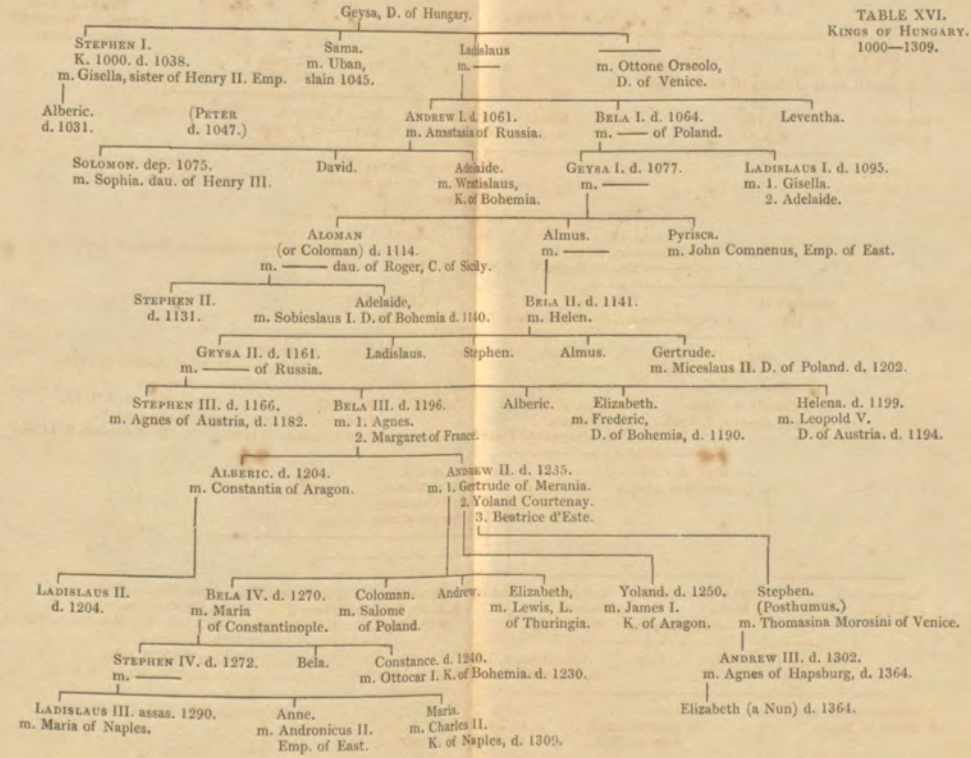

Geysa, D. of Hungary.
Stephen I. K. 1000. d. 1038. m. Gisella, sister of Henry II. Emp.
Sama. m. Uban, slain 1045.
Ladislaus m. ——
—— m. Ottone Orseolo, D. of Venice.
Alberic. d. 1031.
(Peter d. 1047.)
Andrew I. d. 1061. m. Anastasia of Russia.
Bela I. d. 1064. m. —— of Poland.
Leventha.
Solomon. dep. 1075. m. Sophia. dau. of Henry III.
David.
Adelaide. m. Wratislaus, K. of Bohemia.
Geysa I. d. 1077. m. ——
Ladislaus I. d. 1095. m. 1. Gisella. 2. Adelaide.
Aloman (or Coloman) d. 1114. m. —— dau. of Roger, C. of Sicily.
Almus. m. ——
Pyrisca. m. John Comnenus, Emp. of East.
Stephen II. d. 1131.
Adelaide, m. Sobieslaus I. D. of Bohemia d. 1140.
Bela II. d. 1141. m. Helen.
Geysa II. d. 1161. m. —— of Russia.
Ladislaus.
Stephen.
Almus.
Gertrude. m. Miceslaus II. D. of Poland. d. 1202.
Stephen III. d. 1166. m. Agnes of Austria, d. 1182.
Bela III. d. 1196. m. 1. Agnes. 2. Margaret of France.
Alberic.
Elizabeth. m. Frederic, D. of Bohemia, d. 1190.
Helena. d. 1199. m. Leopold V. D. of Austria. d. 1194.
Alberic. d. 1204. m. Constantia of Aragon.
Andrew II. d. 1235. m. 1. Gertrude of Merania. 2. Yoland Courtenay. 3. Beatrice d'Este.
Ladislaus II. d. 1204.
Bela IV. d. 1270. m. Maria of Constantinople.
Coloman. m. Salome of Poland.
Andrew.
Elizabeth, m. Lewis, L. of Thuringia.
Yoland. d. 1250. m. James I. K. of Aragon.
Stephen. (Posthumus.) m. Thomasina Morosini of Venice.
Stephen IV. d. 1272. m. ——
Bela.
Constance. d. 1240. m. Ottocar I. K. of Bohemia. d. 1230.
Andrew III. d. 1302. m. Agnes of Hapsburg, d. 1364.
Ladislaus III. assas. 1290. m. Maria of Naples.
Anne. m. Andronicus II. Emp. of East.
Maria. m. Charles II. K. of Naples, d. 1309.
Elizabeth (a Nun) d. 1364.

TABLE XVII.
KINGS OF HUNGARY, CONTINUED.

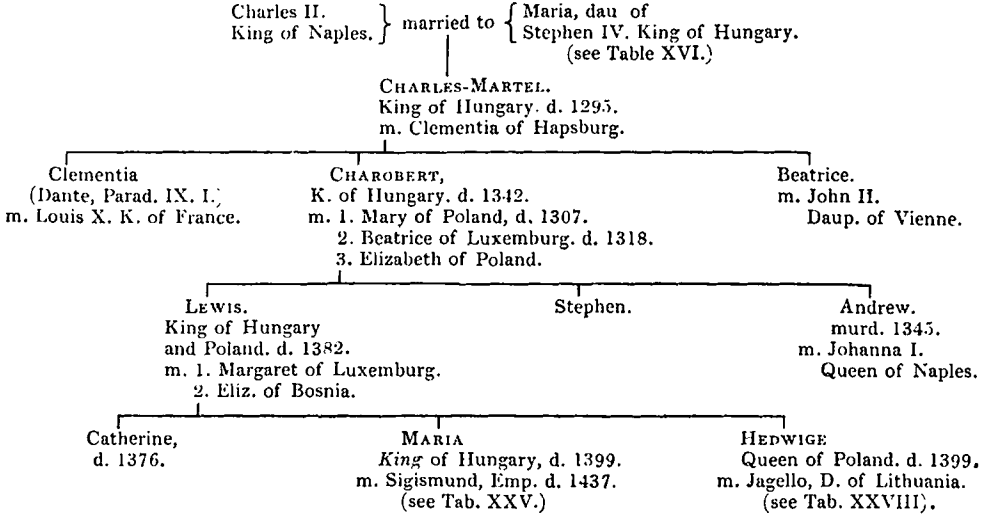


TABLE XVIII.
KINGS AND DUKES OF POLAND.

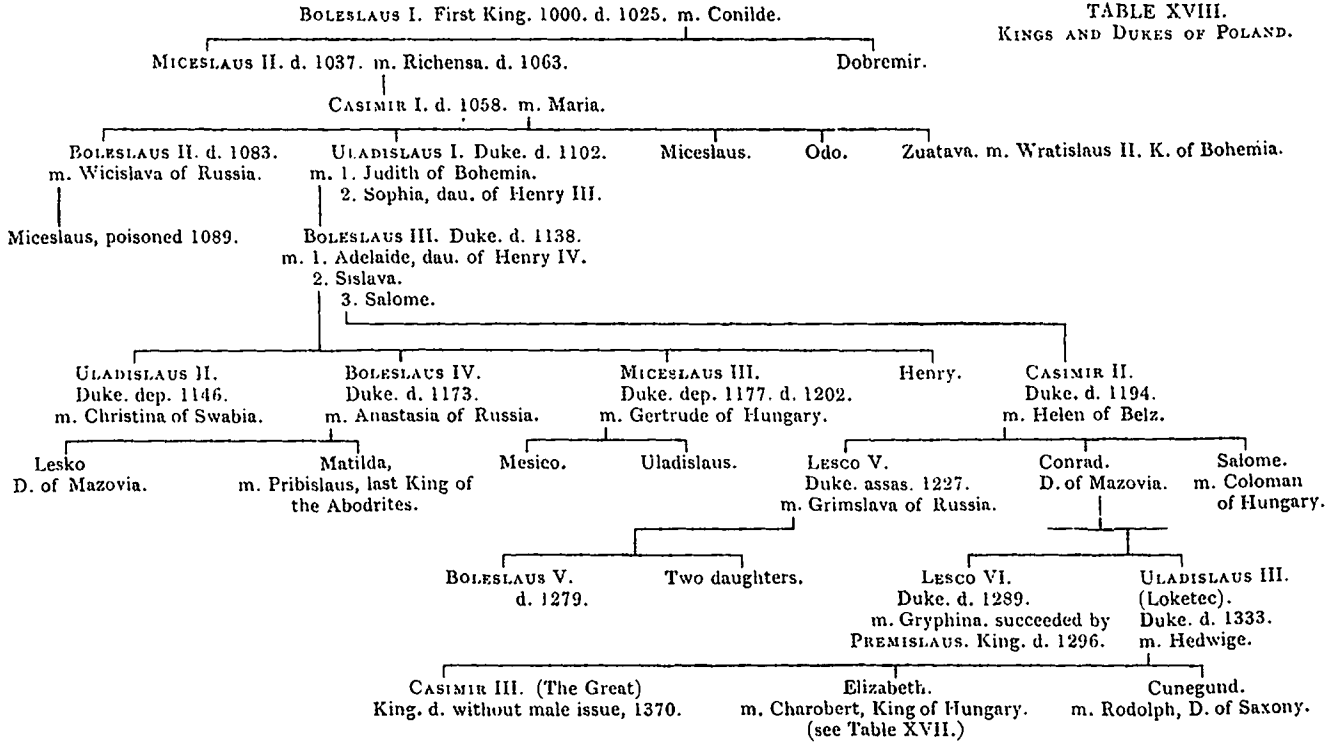
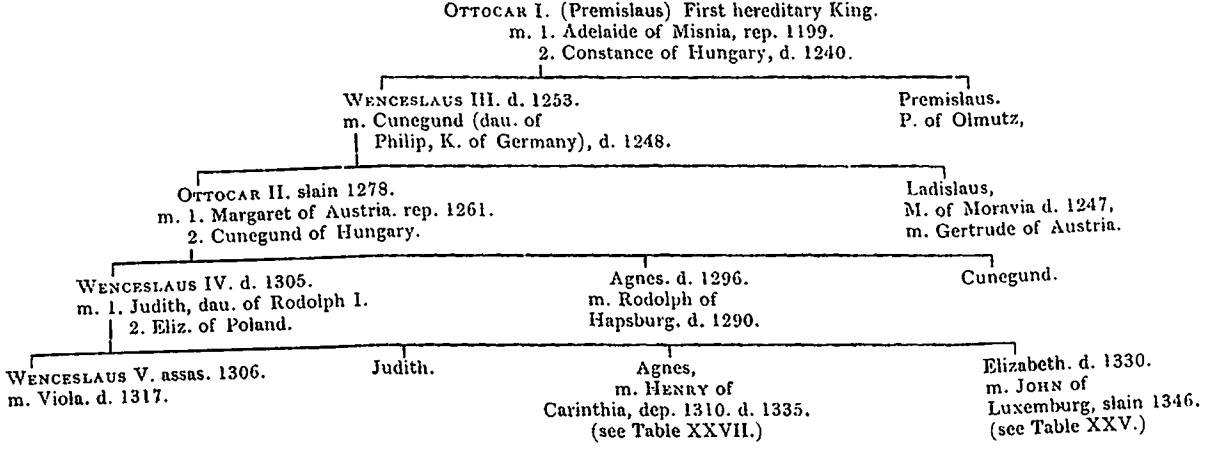


TABLE XIX.
KINGS OF BOHEMIA.


Ottocar I. (Premislaus) First hereditary King.
m. 1. Adelaide of Misnia, rep. 1199.
2. Constance of Hungary, d. 1240.
Wenceslaus III. d. 1253.
m. Cunegund (dau. of Philip, K. of Germany), d. 1248.
Premislaus.
P. of Olmutz,
Ottocar II. slain 1278.
m. 1. Margaret of Austria. rep. 1261.
2. Cunegund of Hungary.
Ladislaus,
M. of Moravia d. 1247,
m. Gertrude of Austria.
Wenceslaus IV. d. 1305.
m. 1. Judith, dau. of Rodolph I.
2. Eliz. of Poland.
Agnes. d. 1296.
m. Rodolph of Hapsburg. d. 1290.
Cunegund.
Wenceslaus V. assas. 1306.
m. Viola. d. 1317.
Judith.
Agnes,
m. Henry of Carinthia, dep. 1310. d. 1335.
(see Table XXVII.)
Elizabeth. d. 1330.
m. John of Luxemburg, slain 1346.
(see Table XXV.)

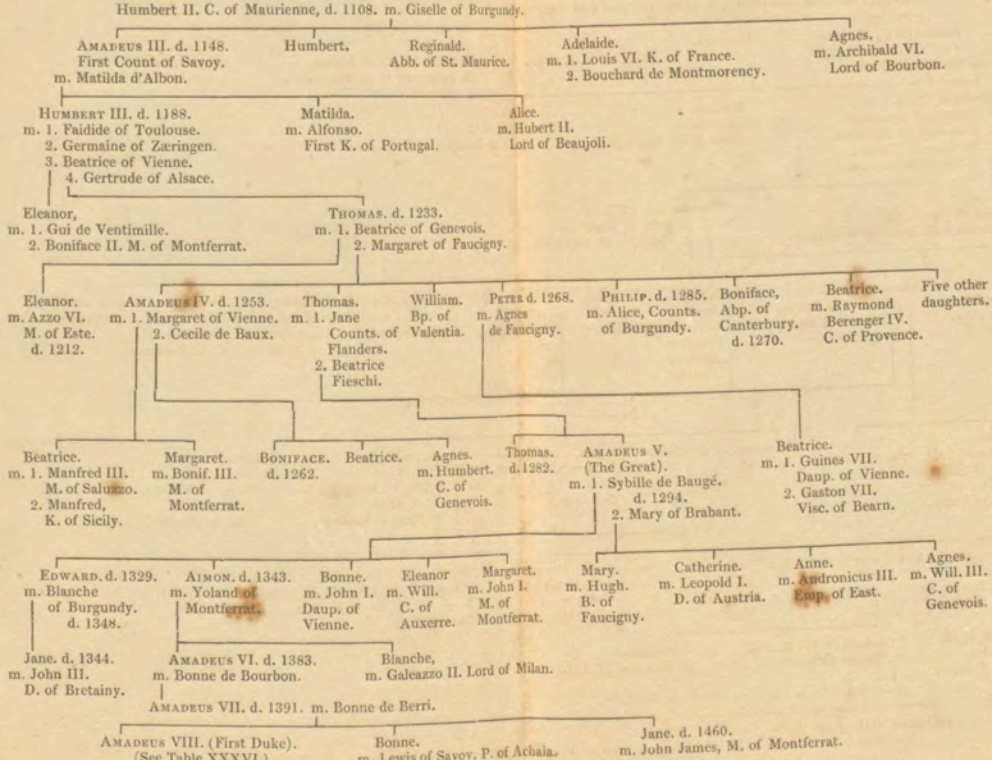

Humbert II. C. of Maurienne, d. 1108. m. Giselle of Burgundy.
Amadeus III. d. 1148. First Count of Savoy. m. Matilda d'Albon.
Humbert.
Reginald. Abb. of St. Maurice.
Adelaide. m. 1. Louis VI. K. of France. 2. Bouchard de Montmorency.
Agnes. m. Archibald VI. Lord of Bourbon.
Humbert III. d. 1188. m. 1. Faidide of Toulouse. 2. Germaine of Zæringen. 3. Beatrice of Vienne. 4. Gertrude of Alsace.
Matilda. m. Alfonso. First K. of Portugal.
Alice. m. Hubert II. Lord of Beaujoli.
Eleanor, m. 1. Gui de Ventimille. 2. Boniface II. M. of Montferrat.
Thomas. d. 1233. m. 1. Beatrice of Genevois. 2. Margaret of Faucigny.
Eleanor. m. Azzo VI. M. of Este. d. 1212.
Amadeus IV. d. 1253. m. 1. Margaret of Vienne. 2. Cecile de Baux.
Thomas. m. 1. Jane Counts. of Flanders. 2. Beatrice Fieschi.
William. Bp. of Valentia.
Peter d. 1268. m. Agnes de Faucigny.
Philip. d. 1285. m. Alice, Counts. of Burgundy.
Boniface, Abp. of Canterbury. d. 1270.
Beatrice. m. Raymond Berenger IV. C. of Provence.
Five other daughters.
Beatrice. m. 1. Manfred III. M. of Saluzzo. 2. Manfred, K. of Sicily.
Margaret. m. Bonif. III. M. of Montferrat.
Boniface. d. 1262.
Beatrice.
Agnes. m. Humbert. C. of Genevois.
Thomas. d. 1282.
Amadeus V. (The Great). m. 1. Sybille de Baugé. d. 1294. 2. Mary of Brabant.
Beatrice. m. 1. Guines VII. Daup. of Vienne. 2. Gaston VII. Visc. of Bearn.
Edward. d. 1329. m. Blanche of Burgundy. d. 1348.
Aimon. d. 1343. m. Yoland of Montferrat.
Bonne. m. John I. Daup. of Vienne.
Eleanor m. Will. C. of Auxerre.
Margaret. m. John I. M. of Montferrat.
Mary. m. Hugh. B. of Faucigny.
Catherine. m. Leopold I. D. of Austria.
Anne. m. Andronicus III. Emp. of East.
Agnes. m. Will. III. C. of Genevois.
Jane. d. 1344. m. John III. D. of Bretainy.
Amadeus VI. d. 1383. m. Bonne de Bourbon.
Blanche, m. Galeazzo II. Lord of Milan.
Amadeus VII. d. 1391. m. Bonne de Berri.
Amadeus VIII. (First Duke). (See Table XXXVI.)
Bonne. m. Lewis of Savoy. P. of Achaia.
Jane. d. 1460. m. John James, M. of Montferrat.

TABLE XXI.

FAMILY OF ROGER, KING OF SICILY.

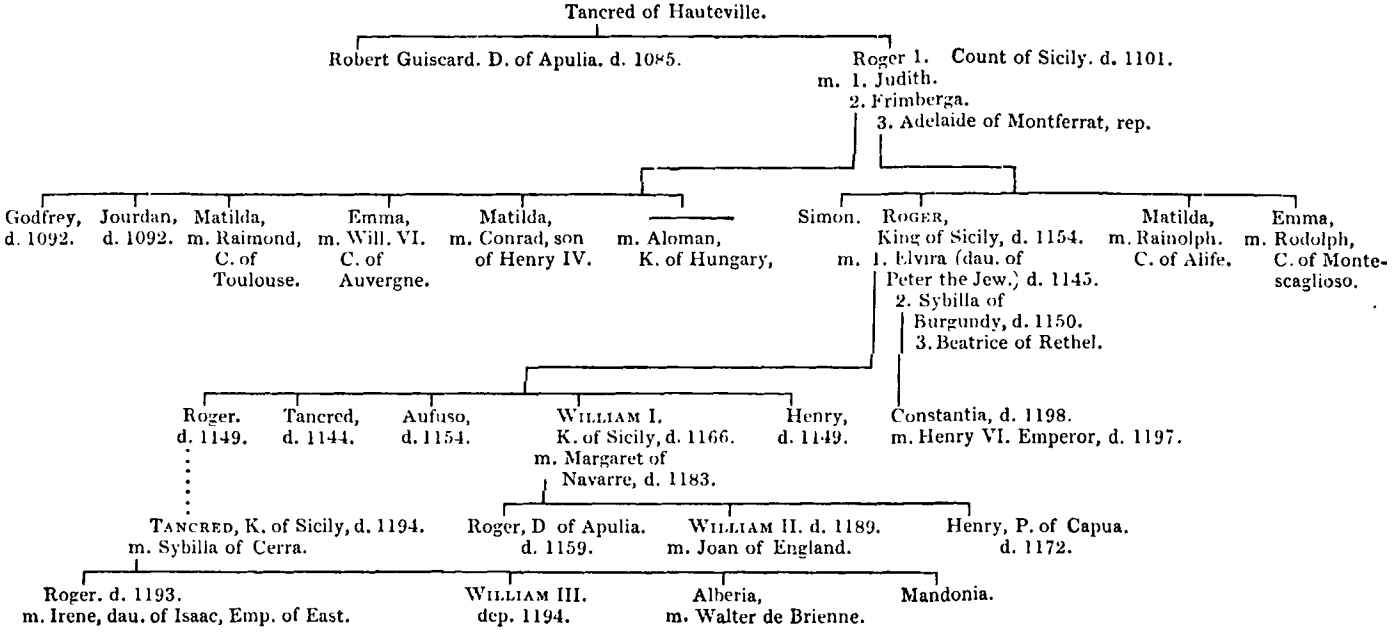

Tancred of Hauteville.
Robert Guiscard. D. of Apulia. d. 1085.
Roger 1. Count of Sicily. d. 1101.
m. 1. Judith.
2. Frimberga.
3. Adelaide of Montferrat, rep.
Godfrey, d. 1092.
Jourdan, d. 1092.
Matilda, m. Raimond, C. of Toulouse.
Emma, m. Will. VI. C. of Auvergne.
Matilda, m. Conrad, son of Henry IV.
m. Aloman, K. of Hungary,
Simon.
ROGER, King of Sicily, d. 1154.
m. 1. Elvira (dau. of Peter the Jew.) d. 1145.
2. Sybilla of Burgundy, d. 1150.
3. Beatrice of Rethel.
Matilda, m. Rainolph. C. of Alife.
Emma, m. Rodolph, C. of Montescaglioso.
Roger. d. 1149.
Tancred, d. 1144.
Aufuso, d. 1154.
WILLIAM I. K. of Sicily, d. 1166.
m. Margaret of Navarre, d. 1183.
Henry, d. 1149.
Constantia, d. 1198.
m. Henry VI. Emperor, d. 1197.
TANCRED, K. of Sicily, d. 1194.
m. Sybilla of Cerra.
Roger, D of Apulia. d. 1159.
WILLIAM II. d. 1189.
m. Joan of England.
Henry, P. of Capua. d. 1172.
Roger. d. 1193.
m. Irene, dau. of Isaac, Emp. of East.
WILLIAM III. dep. 1194.
Alberia, m. Walter de Brienne.
Mandonia.

TABLE XXII.

ANJOUX SOVEREIGNS OF NAPLES.

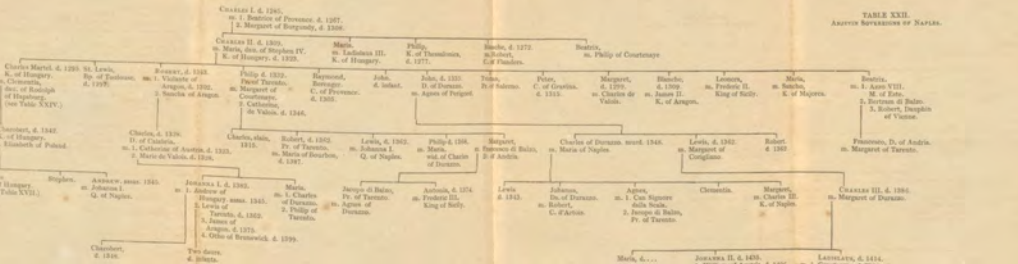


TABLE XXIII.
ARAGONESE KINGS OF SICILY.

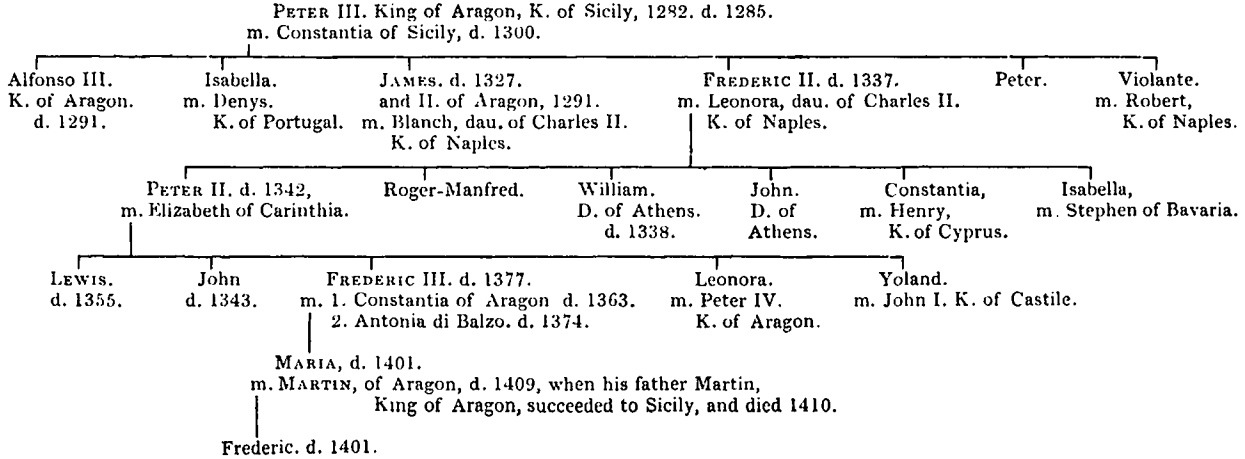

PETER III. King of Aragon, K. of Sicily, 1282. d. 1285.
m. Constantia of Sicily, d. 1300.
Alfonso III. K. of Aragon. d. 1291.
Isabella. m. Denys. K. of Portugal.
JAMES. d. 1327. and II. of Aragon, 1291. m. Blanch, dau. of Charles II. K. of Naples.
FREDERIC II. d. 1337. m. Leonora, dau. of Charles II. K. of Naples.
Peter.
Violante. m. Robert, K. of Naples.
PETER II. d. 1342, m. Elizabeth of Carinthia.
Roger-Manfred.
William. D. of Athens. d. 1338.
John. D. of Athens.
Constantia, m. Henry, K. of Cyprus.
Isabella, m. Stephen of Bavaria.
LEWIS. d. 1355.
John d. 1343.
FREDERIC III. d. 1377. m. 1. Constantia of Aragon d. 1363. 2. Antonia di Balzo. d. 1374.
Leonora. m. Peter IV. K. of Aragon.
Yoland. m. John I. K. of Castile.
MARIA, d. 1401. m. MARTIN, of Aragon, d. 1409, when his father Martin, King of Aragon, succeeded to Sicily, and died 1410.
Frederic. d. 1401.

TABLE XXIV.
THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.

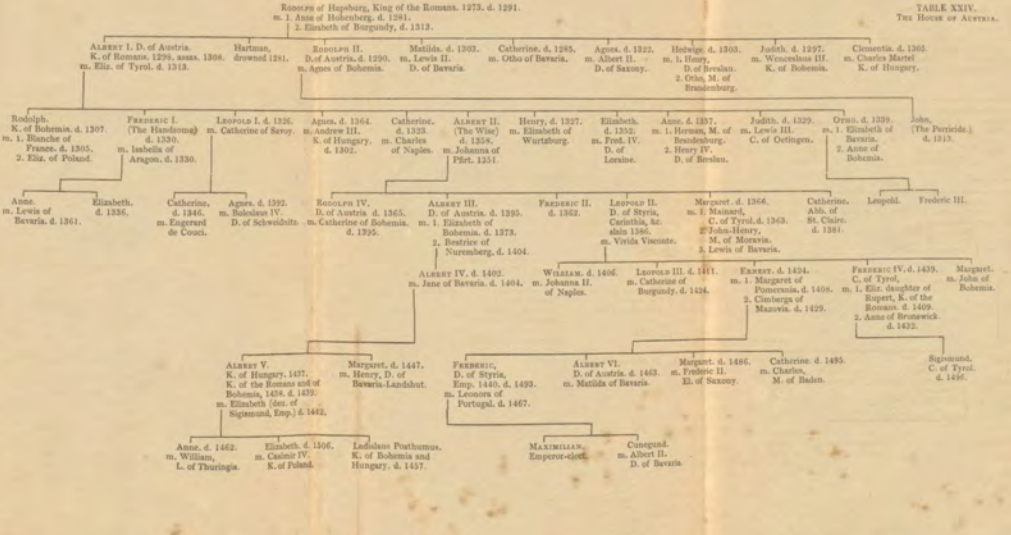

Rodolph of Hapsburg, King of the Romans. 1273. d. 1291.
m. 1. Anna of Hohenberg. d. 1281.
2. Elizabeth of Burgundy, d. 1313.
Albert I. D. of Austria. K. of Romans. 1298, assas. 1308. m. Eliz. of Tyrol. d. 1313.
Hartman, drowned 1281.
Rodolph II. D. of Austria. d. 1290. m. Agnes of Bohemia.
Matilda. d. 1303. m. Lewis II. D. of Bavaria.
Catherine. d. 1265. m. Otho of Bavaria.
Agnes. d. 1322. m. Albert II. D. of Saxony.
Hedwige. d. 1303. m. 1. Henry, D. of Breslau. 2. Otho, M. of Brandenburg.
Judith. d. 1297. m. Wenceslaus III. K. of Bohemia.
Clementia. d. 1305. m. Charles Martel K. of Hungary.
Rodolph. K. of Bohemia. d. 1307. m. 1. Blanche of France. d. 1305. 2. Eliz. of Poland.
Frederic I. (The Handsome) d. 1330. m. Isabella of Aragon. d. 1330.
Leopold I. d. 1326. m. Catherine of Savoy.
Agnes. d. 1364. m. Andrew III. K. of Hungary. d. 1302.
Catherine. d. 1323. m. Charles of Naples.
Albert II. (The Wise) d. 1358. m. Johanna of Pfirt. 1351.
Henry, d. 1327. m. Elizabeth of Wurtzburg.
Elizabeth. d. 1352. m. Fred. IV. D. of Lorraine.
Anne. d. 1337. m. 1. Herman, M. of Brandenburg. 2. Henry IV. D. of Breslau.
Judith. d. 1329. m. Lewis III. C. of Oettingen.
Otho. d. 1339. m. 1. Elizabeth of Bavaria. 2. Anne of Bohemia.
John, (The Parricide.) d. 1313.
Anne. m. Lewis of Bavaria. d. 1361.
Elizabeth. d. 1336.
Catherine. d. 1346. m. Engerard de Couci.
Agnes. d. 1392. m. Baleslaus IV. D. of Schweidnitz.
Rodolph IV. D. of Austria. d. 1365. m. Catherine of Bohemia. d. 1395.
Albert III. D. of Austria. d. 1395. m. 1. Elizabeth of Bohemia. d. 1373. 2. Beatrice of Nuremberg. d. 1404.
Frederic II. d. 1362.
Leopold II. D. of Styria, Carinthia, &c. slain 1386. m. Viryda Visconte.
Margaret. d. 1366. m. 1. Meinard, C. of Tyrol. d. 1363. 2. John-Henry, M. of Moravia. 3. Lewis of Bavaria.
Catherine. Abb. of St. Claire. d. 1381.
Leopold.
Frederic III.
Albert IV. d. 1402. m. Jane of Bavaria. d. 1404.
William. d. 1406. m. Johanna II. of Naples.
Leopold III. d. 1411. m. Catherine of Burgundy. d. 1424.
Ernest. d. 1424. m. 1. Margaret of Pomerania. d. 1408. 2. Cimberga of Mazovia. d. 1429.
Frederic IV. d. 1439. m. 1. Eliz. daughter of Rupert, K. of the Romans. d. 1409. 2. Anne of Brunswick. d. 1432.
Margaret. m. John of Bohemia.
Albert V. K. of Hungary. 1437. K. of the Romans and of Bohemia, 1438. d. 1439. m. Elizabeth (dau. of Sigismund, Emp.) d. 1442.
Margaret. d. 1447. m. Henry, D. of Bavaria-Landshut.
Frederic, D. of Styria, Emp. 1440. d. 1493. m. Leonora of Portugal. d. 1467.
Albert VI. D. of Austria. d. 1463. m. Matilda of Bavaria.
Margaret. d. 1486. m. Frederic II. El. of Saxony.
Catherine. d. 1493. m. Charles, M. of Baden.
Sigismund. C. of Tyrol. d. 1496.
Anne. d. 1462. m. William, L. of Thuringia.
Elizabeth. d. 1506. m. Casimir IV. K. of Poland.
Ladislaus Posthumus. K. of Bohemia and Hungary. d. 1457.
Maximilian. Emperor-elect.
Cunegund. m. Albert II. D. of Bavaria.

TABLE XXV.

THE HOUSE OF LUXEMBURG.

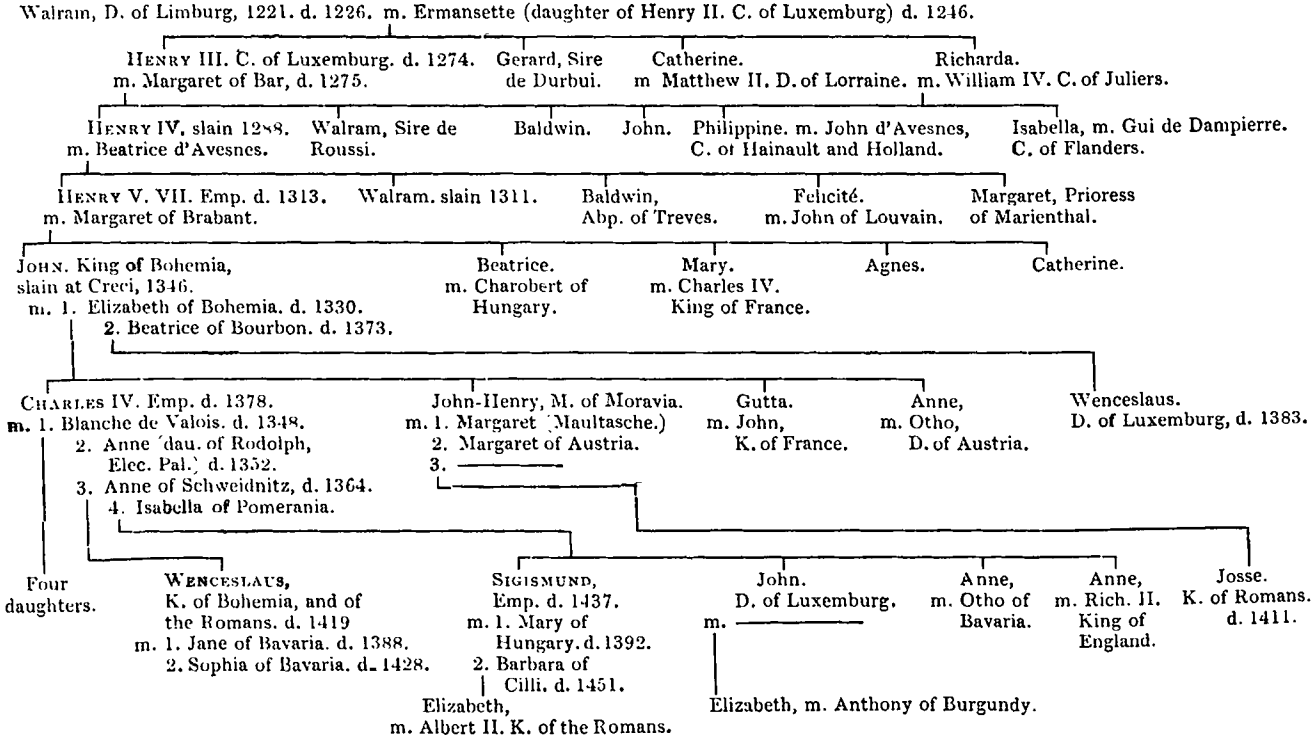

Walram, D. of Limburg, 1221. d. 1226. m. Ermansette (daughter of Henry II. C. of Luxemburg) d. 1246.
HENRY III. C. of Luxemburg. d. 1274. m. Margaret of Bar, d. 1275.
Gerard, Sire de Durbui.
Catherine. m Matthew II. D. of Lorraine.
Richarda. m. William IV. C. of Juliers.
HENRY IV. slain 1288. m. Beatrice d'Avesnes.
Walram, Sire de Roussi.
Baldwin.
John.
Philippine. m. John d'Avesnes, C. of Hainault and Holland.
Isabella, m. Gui de Dampierre. C. of Flanders.
HENRY V. VII. Emp. d. 1313. m. Margaret of Brabant.
Walram. slain 1311.
Baldwin, Abp. of Treves.
Felicité. m. John of Louvain.
Margaret, Prioress of Marienthal.
JOHN. King of Bohemia, slain at Creci, 1346. m. 1. Elizabeth of Bohemia. d. 1330. 2. Beatrice of Bourbon. d. 1373.
Beatrice. m. Charobert of Hungary.
Mary. m. Charles IV. King of France.
Agnes.
Catherine.
CHARLES IV. Emp. d. 1378. m. 1. Blanche de Valois. d. 1348. 2. Anne (dau. of Rodolph, Elec. Pal.) d. 1352. 3. Anne of Schweidnitz, d. 1364. 4. Isabella of Pomerania.
John-Henry, M. of Moravia. m. 1. Margaret (Maultasche.) 2. Margaret of Austria. 3. ———
Gutta. m. John, K. of France.
Anne, m. Otho, D. of Austria.
Wenceslaus. D. of Luxemburg, d. 1383.
Four daughters.
WENCESLAUS, K. of Bohemia, and of the Romans. d. 1419 m. 1. Jane of Bavaria. d. 1388. 2. Sophia of Bavaria. d. 1428.
SIGISMUND, Emp. d. 1437. m. 1. Mary of Hungary. d. 1392. 2. Barbara of Cilli. d. 1451.
Elizabeth, m. Albert II. K. of the Romans.
John. D. of Luxemburg. m. ———
Elizabeth, m. Anthony of Burgundy.
Anne, m. Otho of Bavaria.
Anne, m. Rich. II. King of England.
Josse. K. of Romans. d. 1411.

TABLE XXVI.
THE HOUSE OF BURGUNDY.

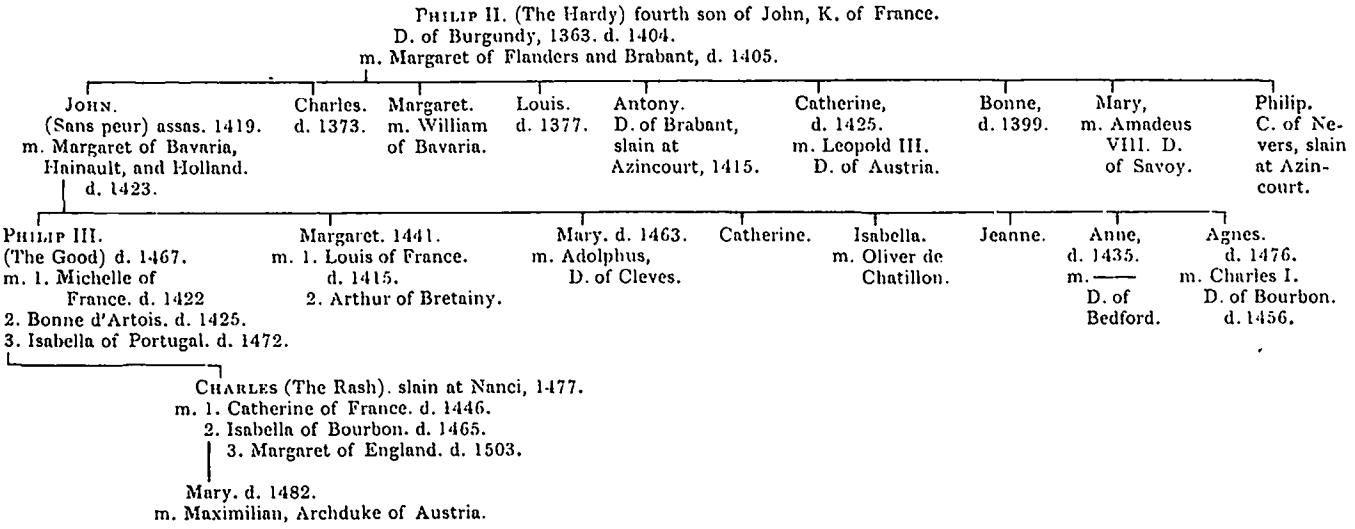

PHILIP II. (The Hardy) fourth son of John, K. of France.
D. of Burgundy, 1363. d. 1404.
m. Margaret of Flanders and Brabant, d. 1405.
JOHN. (Sans peur) assas. 1419. m. Margaret of Bavaria, Hainault, and Holland. d. 1423.
Charles. d. 1373.
Margaret. m. William of Bavaria.
Louis. d. 1377.
Antony. D. of Brabant, slain at Azincourt, 1415.
Catherine, d. 1425. m. Leopold III. D. of Austria.
Bonne, d. 1399.
Mary, m. Amadeus VIII. D. of Savoy.
Philip. C. of Nevers, slain at Azincourt.
PHILIP III. (The Good) d. 1467. m. 1. Michelle of France. d. 1422
2. Bonne d'Artois. d. 1425.
3. Isabella of Portugal. d. 1472.
Margaret. 1441. m. 1. Louis of France. d. 1415.
2. Arthur of Bretainy.
Mary. d. 1463. m. Adolphus, D. of Cleves.
Catherine.
Isabella. m. Oliver de Chatillon.
Jeanne.
Anne, d. 1435. m. —— D. of Bedford.
Agnes. d. 1476. m. Charles I. D. of Bourbon. d. 1456.
CHARLES (The Rash). slain at Nanci, 1477.
m. 1. Catherine of France. d. 1446.
2. Isabella of Bourbon. d. 1465.
3. Margaret of England. d. 1503.
Mary. d. 1482.
m. Maximilian, Archduke of Austria.

TABLE XXVII.

UNION OF TYROL AND CARINTHIA.

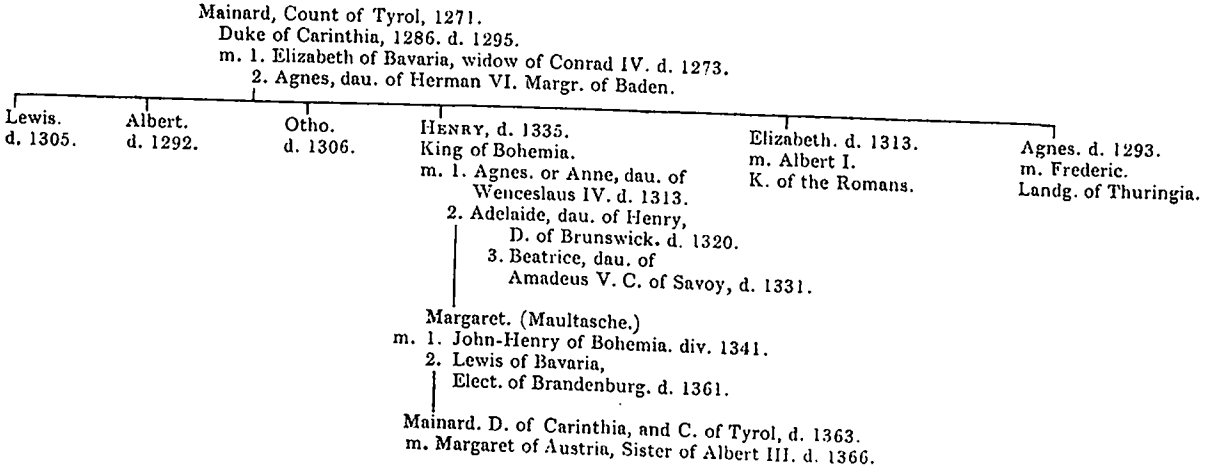

Mainard, Count of Tyrol, 1271.
Duke of Carinthia, 1286. d. 1295.
m. 1. Elizabeth of Bavaria, widow of Conrad IV. d. 1273.
2. Agnes, dau. of Herman VI. Margr. of Baden.
Lewis. d. 1305.
Albert. d. 1292.
Otho. d. 1306.
HENRY, d. 1335. King of Bohemia.
m. 1. Agnes. or Anne, dau. of Wenceslaus IV. d. 1313.
2. Adelaide, dau. of Henry, D. of Brunswick. d. 1320.
3. Beatrice, dau. of Amadeus V. C. of Savoy, d. 1331.
Elizabeth. d. 1313. m. Albert I. K. of the Romans.
Agnes. d. 1293. m. Frederic. Landg. of Thuringia.
Margaret. (Maultasche.)
m. 1. John-Henry of Bohemia. div. 1341.
2. Lewis of Bavaria, Elect. of Brandenburg. d. 1361.
Mainard. D. of Carinthia, and C. of Tyrol, d. 1363.
m. Margaret of Austria, Sister of Albert III. d. 1366.

TABLE XXVIII.

KINGS OF POLAND, OF THE LINE OF JAGELLO.

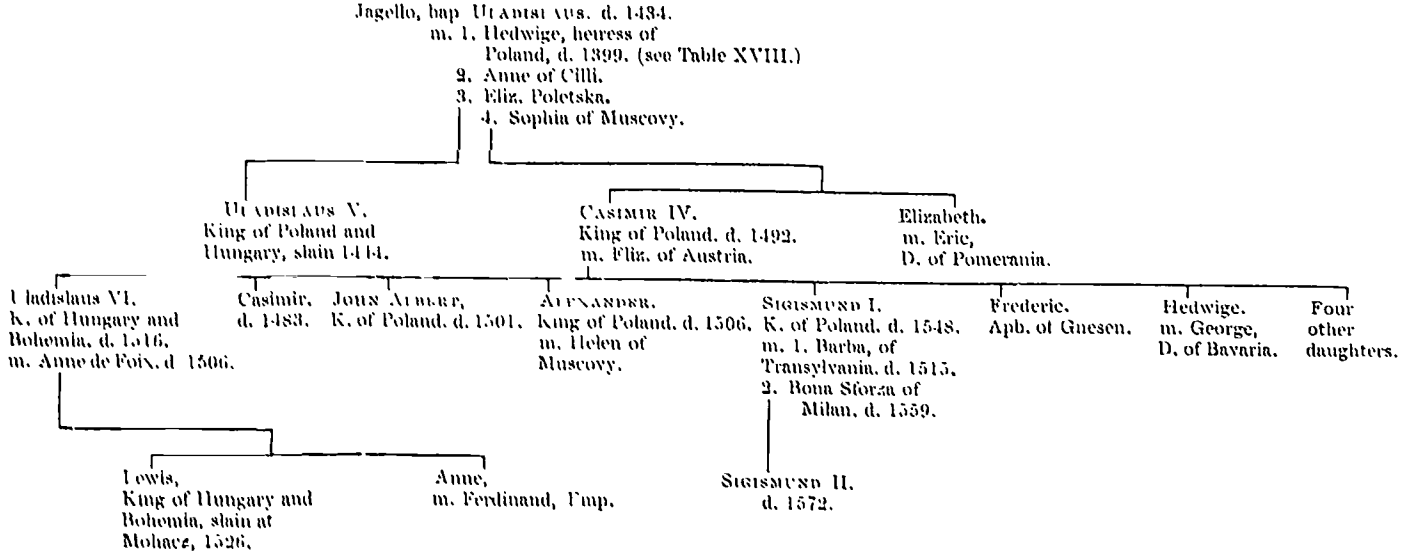

Jagello, bap Uladislaus. d. 1434.
m. 1. Hedwige, heiress of Poland, d. 1399. (see Table XVIII.)
2. Anne of Cilli.
3. Eliz. Poletska.
4. Sophia of Muscovy.
Uladislaus V. King of Poland and Hungary, slain 1444.
Casimir IV. King of Poland. d. 1492. m. Eliz. of Austria.
Elizabeth. m. Eric, D. of Pomerania.
Uladislaus VI. K. of Hungary and Bohemia. d. 1516. m. Anne de Foix. d. 1506.
Casimir. d. 1483.
John Albert. K. of Poland. d. 1501.
Alexander. King of Poland. d. 1506. m. Helen of Muscovy.
Sigismund I. K. of Poland. d. 1548. m. 1. Barba, of Transylvania. d. 1515. 2. Bona Sforza of Milan. d. 1559.
Frederic. Apb. of Gnesen.
Hedwige. m. George, D. of Bavaria.
Four other daughters.
Lewis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, slain at Mohacz, 1526.
Anne, m. Ferdinand, Emp.
Sigismund II. d. 1572.

TABLE XXIX.

Dukes of Bavaria of the House of Wittelsbach.

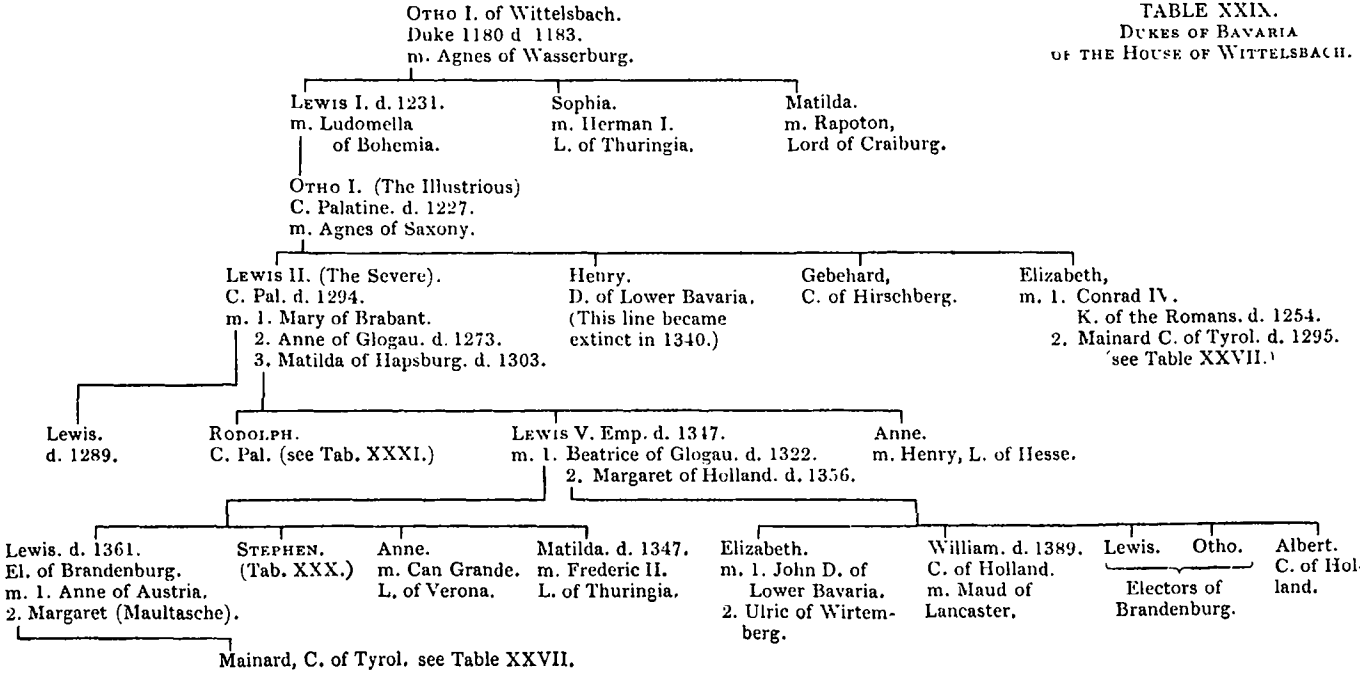


TABLE XXX.

DIVISION OF BAVARIA.

* D. of Bavaria Ingoldstadt.

† ——— Landshut.

‡ ——— Munich.

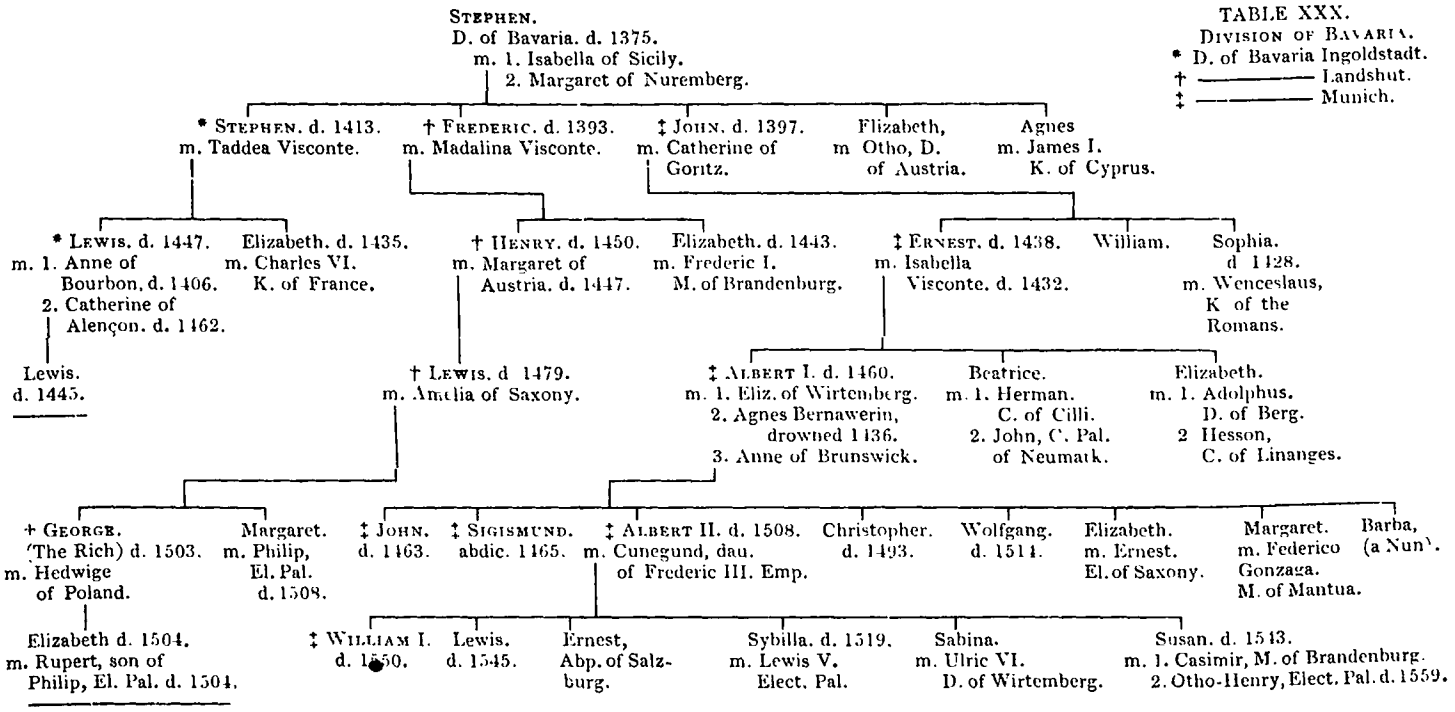
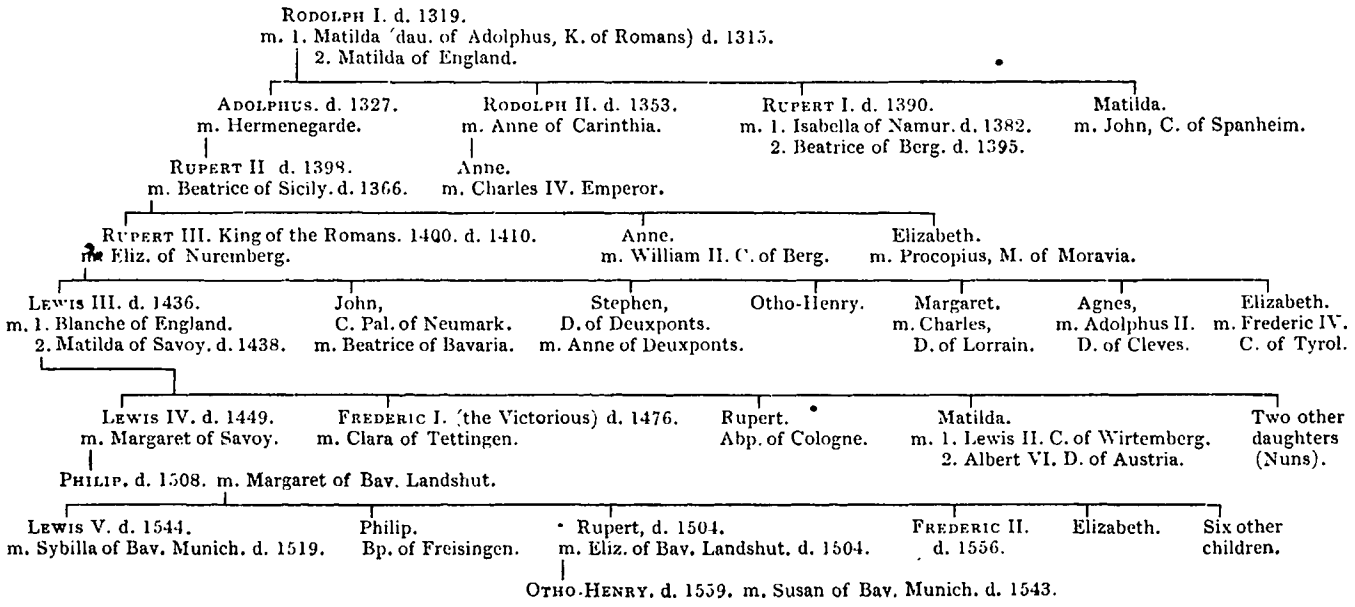

STEPHEN.
D. of Bavaria. d. 1375.
m. 1. Isabella of Sicily.
2. Margaret of Nuremberg.
* STEPHEN. d. 1413.
m. Taddea Visconte.
† FREDERIC. d. 1393.
m. Madalina Visconte.
‡ JOHN. d. 1397.
m. Catherine of Goritz.
Elizabeth, m Otho, D. of Austria.
Agnes m. James I. K. of Cyprus.
* LEWIS. d. 1447.
m. 1. Anne of Bourbon, d. 1406.
2. Catherine of Alençon. d. 1462.
Elizabeth. d. 1435.
m. Charles VI. K. of France.
† HENRY. d. 1450.
m. Margaret of Austria. d. 1447.
Elizabeth. d. 1443.
m. Frederic I. M. of Brandenburg.
‡ ERNEST. d. 1438.
m. Isabella Visconte. d. 1432.
William.
Sophia. d 1428.
m. Wenceslaus, K of the Romans.
Lewis. d. 1445.
† LEWIS. d 1479.
m. Amelia of Saxony.
‡ ALBERT I. d. 1460.
m. 1. Eliz. of Wirtemberg.
2. Agnes Bernawerin, drowned 1436.
3. Anne of Brunswick.
Beatrice.
m. 1. Herman. C. of Cilli.
2. John, C. Pal. of Neumark.
Elizabeth.
m. 1. Adolphus. D. of Berg.
2 Hesson, C. of Linanges.
+ GEORGE. (The Rich) d. 1503.
m. Hedwige of Poland.
Margaret.
m. Philip, El. Pal.
d. 1508.
‡ JOHN. d. 1463.
‡ SIGISMUND. abdic. 1465.
‡ ALBERT II. d. 1508.
m. Cunegund, dau. of Frederic III. Emp.
Christopher. d. 1493.
Wolfgang. d. 1514.
Elizabeth.
m. Ernest. El. of Saxony.
Margaret.
m. Federico Gonzaga. M. of Mantua.
Barba, (a Nun).
Elizabeth d. 1504.
m. Rupert, son of Philip, El. Pal. d. 1504.
‡ WILLIAM I. d. 1550.
Lewis. d. 1545.
Ernest, Abp. of Salzburg.
Sybilla. d. 1519.
m. Lewis V. Elect. Pal.
Sabina.
m. Ulric VI. D. of Wirtemberg.
Susan. d. 1543.
m. 1. Casimir, M. of Brandenburg.
2. Otho-Henry, Elect. Pal. d. 1559.

TABLE XXXI.

COUNTS PALATINE OF THE HOUSE OF BAVARIA.



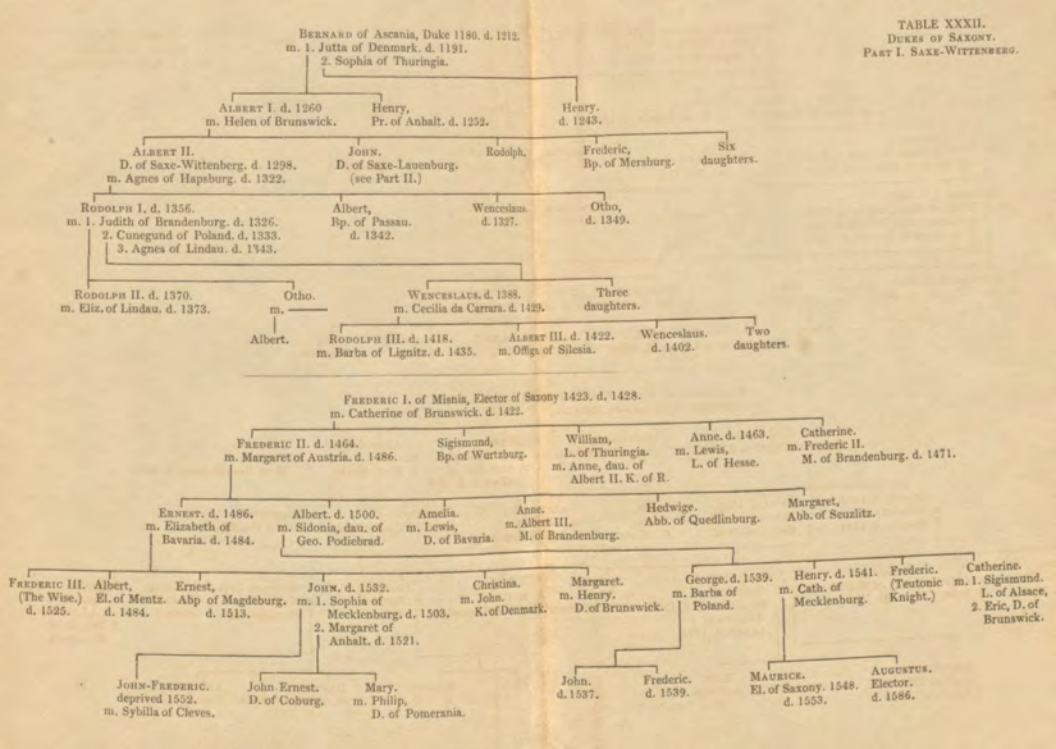

BERNARD of Ascania, Duke 1180. d. 1212.
m. 1. Jutta of Denmark. d. 1191.
2. Sophia of Thuringia.
ALBERT I. d. 1260
m. Helen of Brunswick.
Henry,
Pr. of Anhalt. d. 1252.
Henry.
d. 1243.
ALBERT II.
D. of Saxe-Wittenberg. d. 1298.
m. Agnes of Hapsburg. d. 1322.
JOHN.
D. of Saxe-Lauenburg.
(see Part II.)
Rodolph.
Frederic,
Bp. of Mersburg.
Six
daughters.
RODOLPH I. d. 1356.
m. 1. Judith of Brandenburg. d. 1326.
2. Cunegund of Poland. d. 1333.
3. Agnes of Lindau. d. 1343.
Albert,
Bp. of Passau.
d. 1342.
Wenceslaus.
d. 1327.
Otho,
d. 1349.
RODOLPH II. d. 1370.
m. Eliz. of Lindau. d. 1373.
Otho.
m.
Albert.
WENCESLAUS. d. 1388.
m. Cecilia da Carrara. d. 1429.
Three
daughters.
RODOLPH III. d. 1418.
m. Barba of Lignitz. d. 1435.
ALBERT III. d. 1422.
m. Offga of Silesia.
Wenceslaus.
d. 1402.
Two
daughters.
FREDERIC I. of Misnia, Elector of Saxony 1423. d. 1428.
m. Catherine of Brunswick. d. 1422.
FREDERIC II. d. 1464.
m. Margaret of Austria. d. 1486.
Sigismund,
Bp. of Wurtzburg.
William,
L. of Thuringia.
m. Anne, dau. of
Albert II. K. of R.
Anne. d. 1463.
m. Lewis,
L. of Hesse.
Catherine.
m. Frederic II.
M. of Brandenburg. d. 1471.
ERNEST. d. 1486.
m. Elizabeth of
Bavaria. d. 1484.
Albert. d. 1500.
m. Sidonia, dau. of
Geo. Podiebrad.
Amelia.
m. Lewis,
D. of Bavaria.
Anne.
m. Albert III.
M. of Brandenburg.
Hedwige.
Abb. of Quedlinburg.
Margaret,
Abb. of Seuzlitz.
FREDERIC III.
(The Wise.)
d. 1525.
Albert,
El. of Mentz.
d. 1484.
Ernest,
Abp of Magdeburg.
d. 1513.
JOHN. d. 1532.
m. 1. Sophia of
Mecklenburg. d. 1503.
2. Margaret of
Anhalt. d. 1521.
Christina.
m. John.
K. of Denmark.
Margaret.
m. Henry.
D. of Brunswick.
George. d. 1539.
m. Barba of
Poland.
Henry. d. 1541.
m. Cath. of
Mecklenburg.
Frederic.
(Teutonic
Knight.)
Catherine.
m. 1. Sigismund.
L. of Alsace.
2. Eric, D. of
Brunswick.
JOHN-FREDERIC.
deprived 1552.
m. Sybilla of Cleves.
John Ernest.
D. of Coburg.
Mary.
m. Philip,
D. of Pomerania.
John.
d. 1537.
Frederic.
d. 1539.
MAURICE.
El. of Saxony. 1548.
d. 1553.
AUGUSTUS.
Elector.
d. 1586.

TABLE XXXII.
DUKES OF SAXONY.
PART II. SAXE-LAUENBURG.

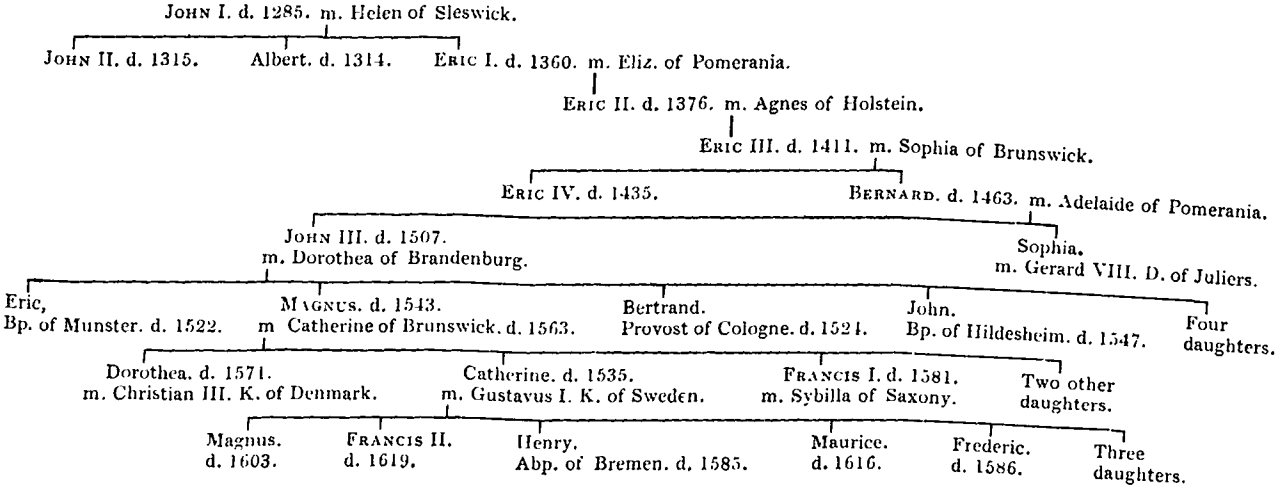


TABLE XXXIII.

MARGRAVES OF BRANDENBURG. OF THE HOUSE OF BALLENSTADT.

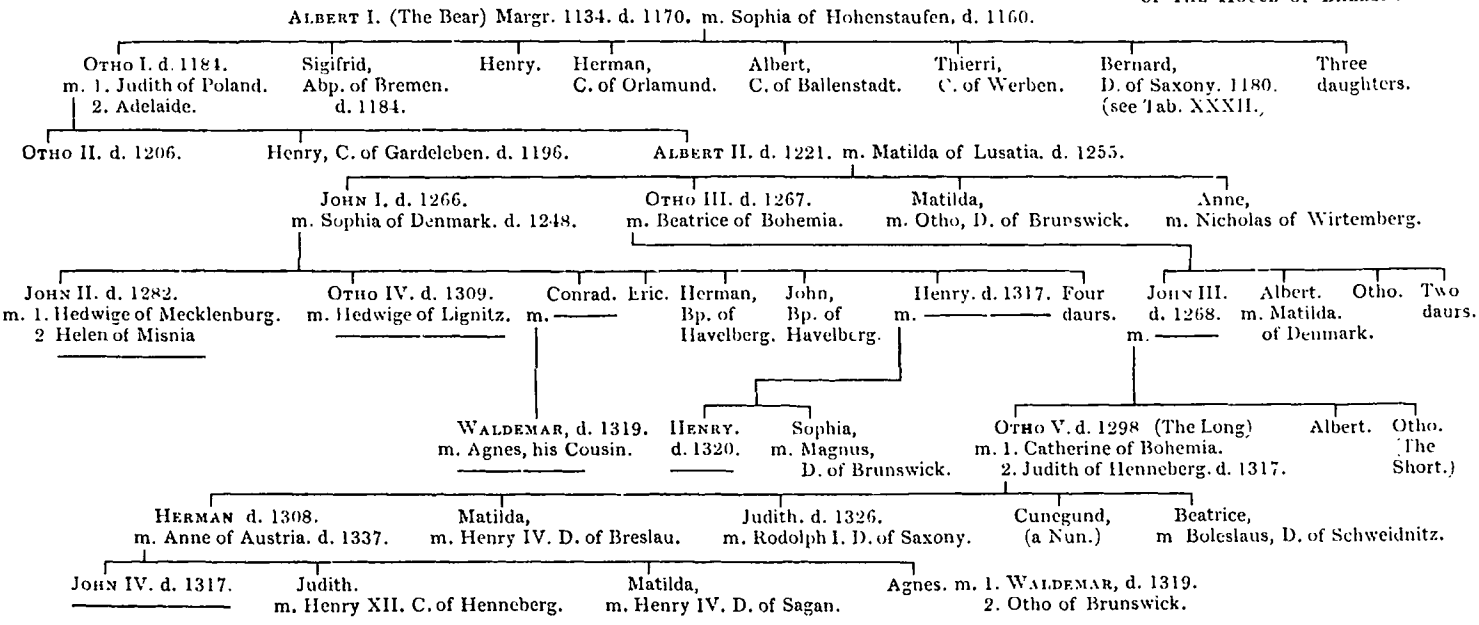

ALBERT I. (The Bear) Margr. 1134. d. 1170. m. Sophia of Hohenstaufen. d. 1160.
OTHO I. d. 1184. m. 1. Judith of Poland. 2. Adelaide.
Sigifrid, Abp. of Bremen. d. 1184.
Henry.
Herman, C. of Orlamund.
Albert, C. of Ballenstadt.
Thierri, C. of Werben.
Bernard, D. of Saxony. 1180. (see Tab. XXXII.)
Three daughters.
OTHO II. d. 1206.
Henry, C. of Gardeleben. d. 1196.
ALBERT II. d. 1221. m. Matilda of Lusatia. d. 1255.
JOHN I. d. 1266. m. Sophia of Denmark. d. 1248.
OTHO III. d. 1267. m. Beatrice of Bohemia.
Matilda, m. Otho, D. of Brunswick.
Anne, m. Nicholas of Wirtemberg.
JOHN II. d. 1282. m. 1. Hedwige of Mecklenburg. 2 Helen of Misnia
OTHO IV. d. 1309. m. Hedwige of Lignitz.
Conrad. m. ———
Eric.
Herman, Bp. of Havelberg.
John, Bp. of Havelberg.
Henry. d. 1317. m. ———
Four daurs.
JOHN III. d. 1268. m. ———
Albert. m. Matilda. of Denmark.
Otho.
Two daurs.
WALDEMAR, d. 1319. m. Agnes, his Cousin.
HENRY. d. 1320.
Sophia, m. Magnus, D. of Brunswick.
OTHO V. d. 1298 (The Long) m. 1. Catherine of Bohemia. 2. Judith of Henneberg. d. 1317.
Albert.
Otho. (The Short.)
HERMAN d. 1308. m. Anne of Austria. d. 1337.
Matilda, m. Henry IV. D. of Breslau.
Judith. d. 1326. m. Rodolph I. D. of Saxony.
Cunegund, (a Nun.)
Beatrice, m Boleslaus, D. of Schweidnitz.
JOHN IV. d. 1317.
Judith. m. Henry XII. C. of Henneberg.
Matilda, m. Henry IV. D. of Sagan.
Agnes. m. 1. WALDEMAR, d. 1319. 2. Otho of Brunswick.

TABLE XXXIV.

MARGRAVES OF BRANDENBURG, OF THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN.

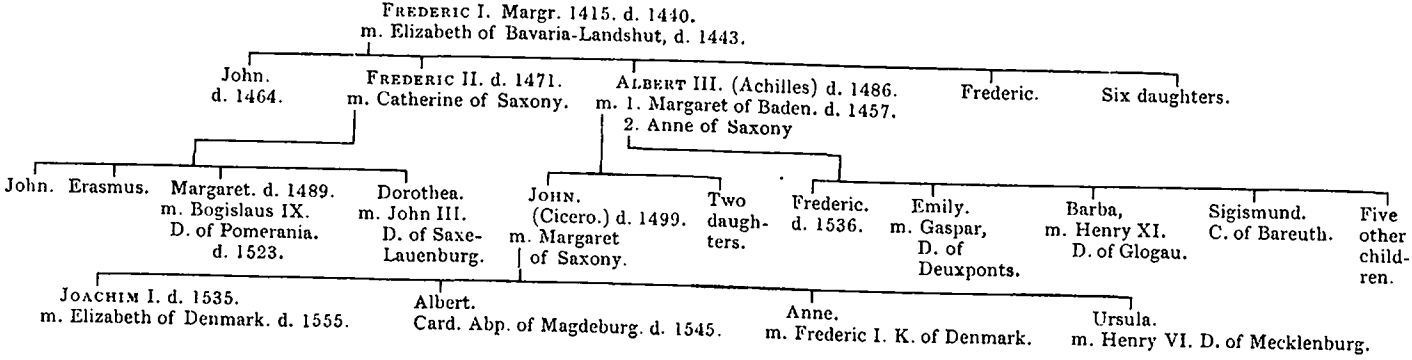

FREDERIC I. Margr. 1415. d. 1440.
m. Elizabeth of Bavaria-Landshut, d. 1443.
John. d. 1464.
FREDERIC II. d. 1471. m. Catherine of Saxony.
ALBERT III. (Achilles) d. 1486. m. 1. Margaret of Baden. d. 1457. 2. Anne of Saxony
Frederic.
Six daughters.
John.
Erasmus.
Margaret. d. 1489. m. Bogislaus IX. D. of Pomerania. d. 1523.
Dorothea. m. John III. D. of Saxe-Lauenburg.
JOHN. (Cicero.) d. 1499. m. Margaret of Saxony.
Two daughters.
Frederic. d. 1536.
Emily. m. Gaspar, D. of Deuxponts.
Barba, m. Henry XI. D. of Glogau.
Sigismund. C. of Bareuth.
Five other children.
JOACHIM I. d. 1535. m. Elizabeth of Denmark. d. 1555.
Albert. Card. Abp. of Magdeburg. d. 1545.
Anne. m. Frederic I. K. of Denmark.
Ursula. m. Henry VI. D. of Mecklenburg.

TABLE XXXV.
MARQUISSES OF MONTFERRAT.
PART I. 938–1338.

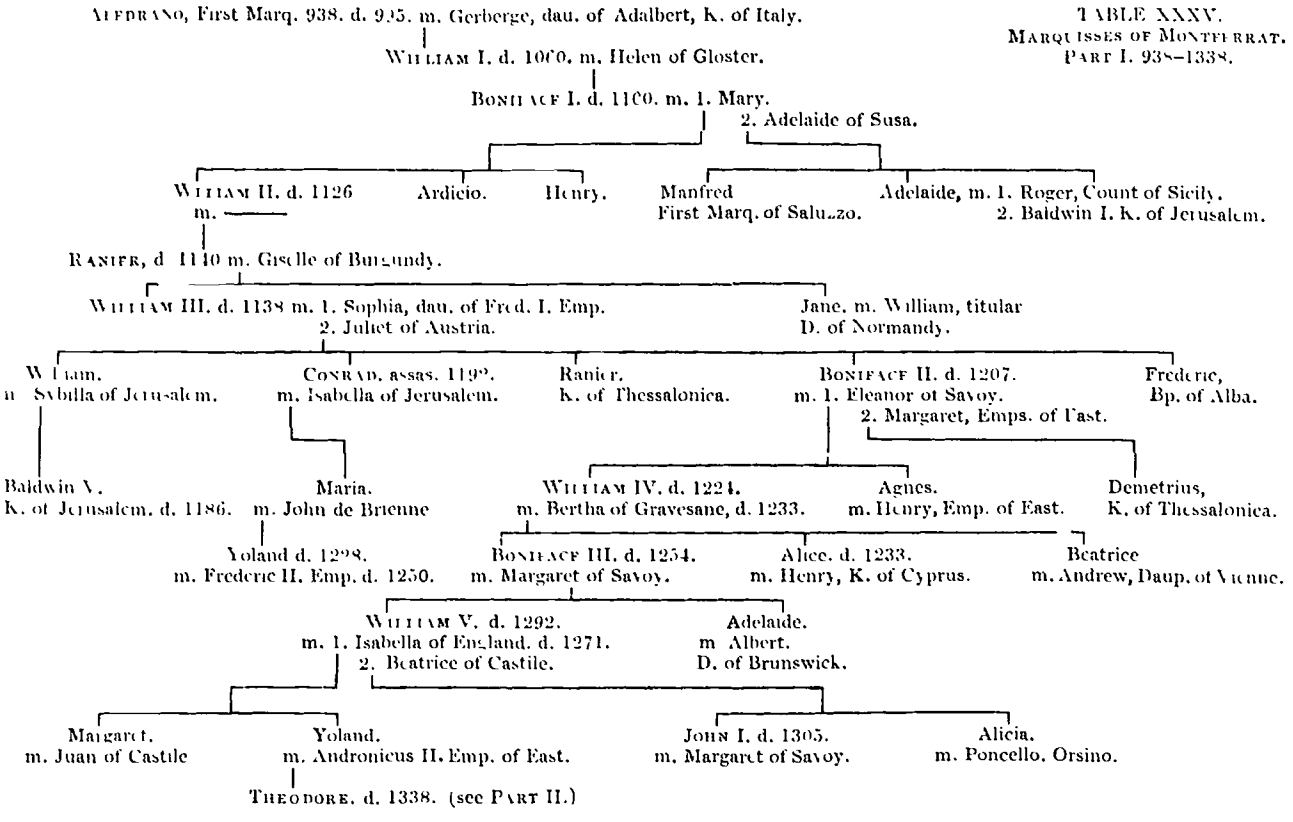
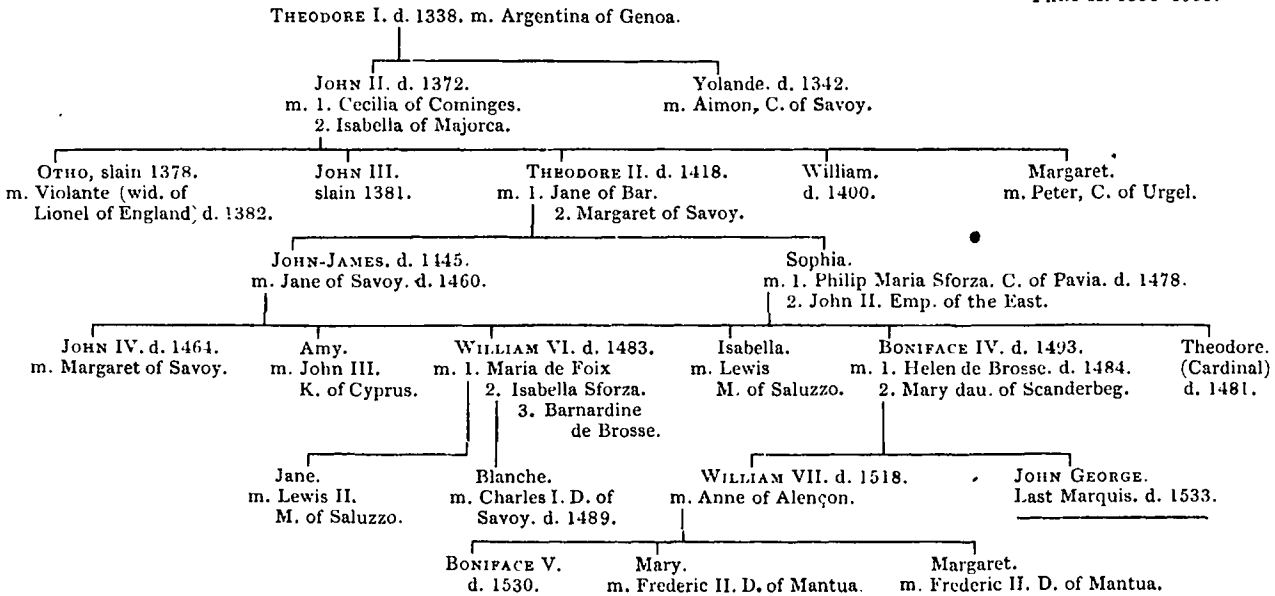
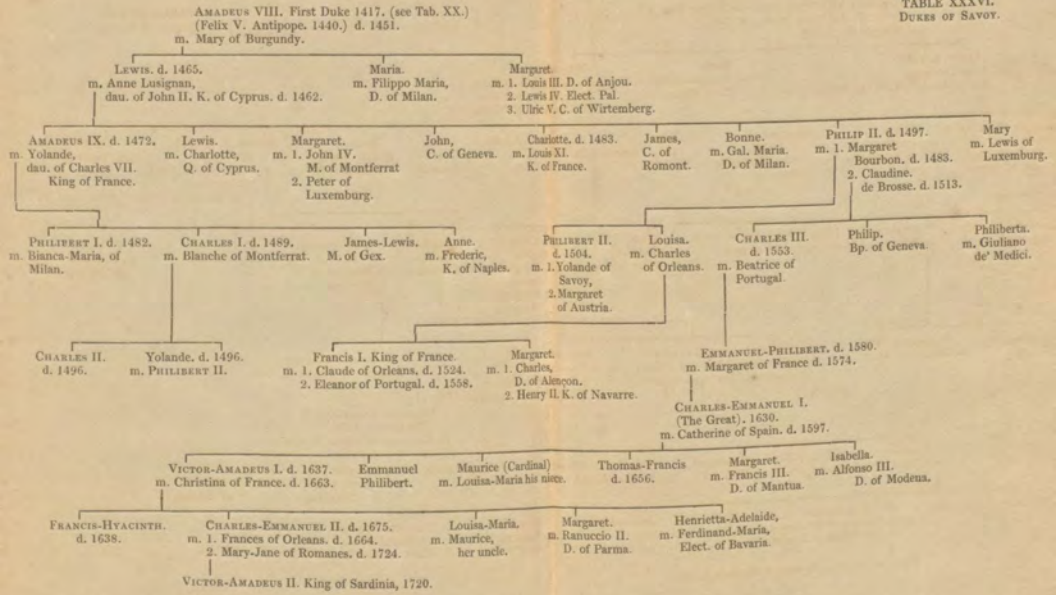


TABLE XXXV.
MARQUISSES OF MONTFERRAT.
PART II. 1338–1533.


THEODORE I. d. 1338. m. Argentina of Genoa.
JOHN II. d. 1372. m. 1. Cecilia of Cominges. 2. Isabella of Majorca.
Yolande. d. 1342. m. Aimon, C. of Savoy.
OTHO, slain 1378. m. Violante (wid. of Lionel of England) d. 1382.
JOHN III. slain 1381.
THEODORE II. d. 1418. m. 1. Jane of Bar. 2. Margaret of Savoy.
William. d. 1400.
Margaret. m. Peter, C. of Urgel.
JOHN-JAMES. d. 1445. m. Jane of Savoy. d. 1460.
Sophia. m. 1. Philip Maria Sforza. C. of Pavia. d. 1478. 2. John II. Emp. of the East.
JOHN IV. d. 1464. m. Margaret of Savoy.
Amy. m. John III. K. of Cyprus.
WILLIAM VI. d. 1483. m. 1. Maria de Foix 2. Isabella Sforza. 3. Barnardine de Brosse.
Isabella. m. Lewis M. of Saluzzo.
BONIFACE IV. d. 1493. m. 1. Helen de Brosse. d. 1484. 2. Mary dau. of Scanderbeg.
Theodore. (Cardinal) d. 1481.
Jane. m. Lewis II. M. of Saluzzo.
Blanche. m. Charles I. D. of Savoy. d. 1489.
WILLIAM VII. d. 1518. m. Anne of Alençon.
JOHN GEORGE. Last Marquis. d. 1533.
BONIFACE V. d. 1530.
Mary. m. Frederic II. D. of Mantua.
Margaret. m. Frederic II. D. of Mantua.


AMADEUS VIII. First Duke 1417. (see Tab. XX.)
(Felix V. Antipope. 1440.) d. 1451.
m. Mary of Burgundy.
LEWIS. d. 1465.
m. Anne Lusignan,
dau. of John II. K. of Cyprus. d. 1462.
Maria.
m. Filippo Maria,
D. of Milan.
Margaret.
m. 1. Louis III. D. of Anjou.
2. Lewis IV. Elect. Pal.
3. Ulric V. C. of Wirtemberg.
AMADEUS IX. d. 1472.
m. Yolande,
dau. of Charles VII.
King of France.
Lewis.
m. Charlotte,
Q. of Cyprus.
Margaret.
m. 1. John IV.
M. of Montferrat
2. Peter of
Luxemburg.
John,
C. of Geneva.
Charlotte. d. 1483.
m. Louis XI.
K. of France.
James,
C. of
Romont.
Bonne.
m. Gal. Maria.
D. of Milan.
PHILIP II. d. 1497.
m. 1. Margaret
Bourbon. d. 1483.
2. Claudine.
de Brosse. d. 1513.
Mary
m. Lewis of
Luxemburg.
PHILIBERT I. d. 1482.
m. Bianca-Maria, of
Milan.
CHARLES I. d. 1489.
m. Blanche of Montferrat.
James-Lewis.
M. of Gex.
Anne.
m. Frederic,
K. of Naples.
PHILIBERT II.
d. 1504.
m. 1. Yolande of
Savoy,
2. Margaret
of Austria.
Louisa.
m. Charles
of Orleans.
CHARLES III.
d. 1553.
m. Beatrice of
Portugal.
Philip.
Bp. of Geneva.
Philiberta.
m. Giuliano
de' Medici.
CHARLES II.
d. 1496.
Yolande. d. 1496.
m. PHILIBERT II.
Francis I. King of France.
m. 1. Claude of Orleans. d. 1524.
2. Eleanor of Portugal. d. 1558.
Margaret.
m. 1. Charles,
D. of Alençon.
2. Henry II. K. of Navarre.
EMMANUEL-PHILIBERT. d. 1580.
m. Margaret of France d. 1574.
CHARLES-EMMANUEL I.
(The Great). 1630.
m. Catherine of Spain. d. 1597.
VICTOR-AMADEUS I. d. 1637.
m. Christina of France. d. 1663.
Emmanuel
Philibert.
Maurice (Cardinal)
m. Louisa-Maria his niece.
Thomas-Francis
d. 1656.
Margaret.
m. Francis III.
D. of Mantua.
Isabella.
m. Alfonso III.
D. of Modena.
FRANCIS-HYACINTH.
d. 1638.
CHARLES-EMMANUEL II. d. 1675.
m. 1. Frances of Orleans. d. 1664.
2. Mary-Jane of Romanes. d. 1724.
Louisa-Maria.
m. Maurice,
her uncle.
Margaret.
m. Ranuccio II.
D. of Parma.
Henrietta-Adelaide,
m. Ferdinand-Maria,
Elect. of Bavaria.
VICTOR-AMADEUS II. King of Sardinia, 1720.

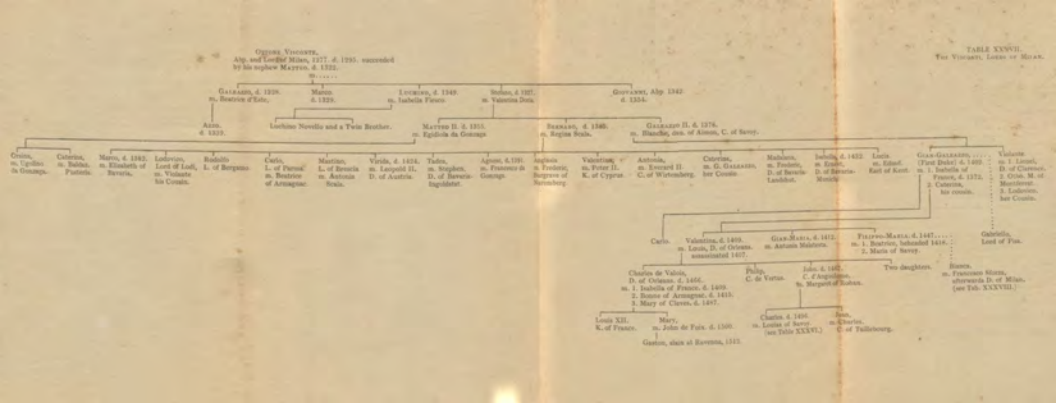

Ottone Visconte,
Abp. and Lord of Milan, 1277. d. 1295. succeeded by his nephew Matteo. d. 1322.
m. .....
Galeazzo, d. 1328.
m. Beatrice d'Este,
Marco
d. 1329.
Luchino, d. 1349.
m. Isabella Fieschi
Stefano, d. 1327.
m. Valentina Doria
Giovanni, Abp. 1342
d. 1354.
Azzo,
d. 1339.
Luchino Novello and a Twin Brother.
Matteo II. d. 1355.
m. Egidiola da Gonzaga
Bernabò, d. 1360.
m. Regina Scala.
Galeazzo II. d. 1378.
m. Bianche, dau. of Amedeo, C. of Savoy.
Orsino,
m. Ugolino da Gonzaga.
Caterina,
m. Baldas. Pusterla.
Marco, d. 1382.
m. Elizabeth of Bavaria,
Lodovico,
Lord of Lodi,
m. Violante his Cousin.
Rodolfo
L. of Bergamo
Carlo,
L. of Parma.
m. Beatrice of Armagnac.
Martino,
L. of Brescia
m. Antonia Scala.
Viridis, d. 1424.
m. Leopold II.
D. of Austria.
Tadeo,
m. Stephen,
D. of Bavaria-Ingolstadt.
Agnese, d. 1391.
m. Francesco di Gonzaga.
Anglesia
m. Frederic,
Burgrave of Nuremberg
Valentina,
m. Peter II.
K. of Cyprus
Antonia,
m. Ernest II.
C. of Wirtemberg.
Caterina,
m. G. Galeazzo,
her Cousin.
Maddalena,
m. Frederic,
D. of Bavaria-Landshut.
Isabella, d. 1432.
m. Stephen,
D. of Bavaria-Munich
Lucia,
m. Edmd.
Earl of Kent.
Gian-Galeazzo, ... (First Duke) d. 1402.
m. 1. Isabella of France, d. 1372.
2. Caterina, his cousin.
Violante
m. 1. Lionel,
D. of Clarence.
2. Gvlm. M. of Montferrat.
3. Ludovico, her Cousin.
Carlo.
Valentina, d. 1409.
m. Louis, D. of Orleans, assassinated 1407.
Gian-Maria, d. 1412.
m. Antonia Malatesta.
Filippo-Maria, d. 1447.....
m. 1. Beatrice, beheaded 1418.
2. Maria of Savoy.
Two daughters.
Gabriello,
Lord of Pisa.
Charles de Valois,
D. of Orleans. d. 1466.
m. 1. Isabella of France, d. 1409.
2. Bonne of Armagnac. d. 1415.
3. Mary of Clevis. d. 1487.
Philip,
C. de Vertus.
John, d. 1467.
C. d'Angoulême,
m. Margaret of Rohan.
Bianca,
m. Francesco Sforza, afterwards D. of Milan, (see Feb. XXXVIII.)
Louis XII.,
K. of France.
Mary,
m. John de Foix. d. 1500.
Charles, d. 1496.
m. Louise of Savoy (see Table XXXVI.)
Joan,
m. Charles,
C. of Taillebourg.
Gaston, slain at Ravenna, 1512.

TABLE XXXVIII.
THE SFORZA, DUKES OF MILAN.

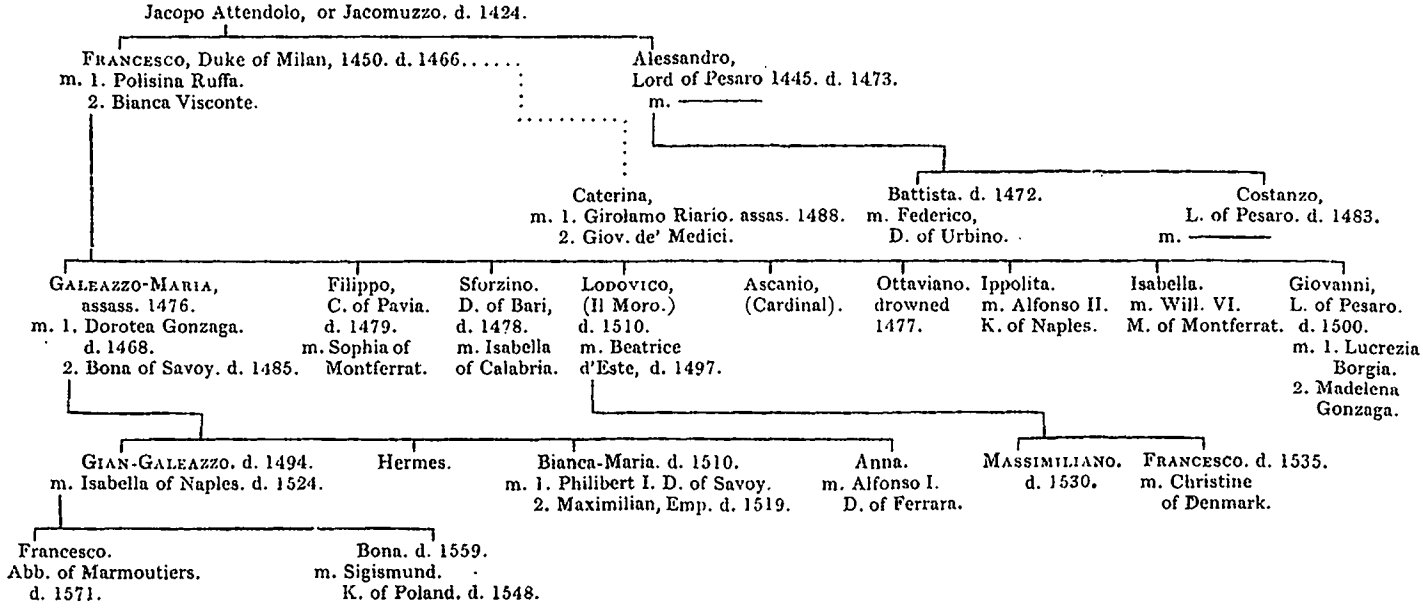


TABLE XXXIX.
THE SCALA, LORDS OF VERONA.

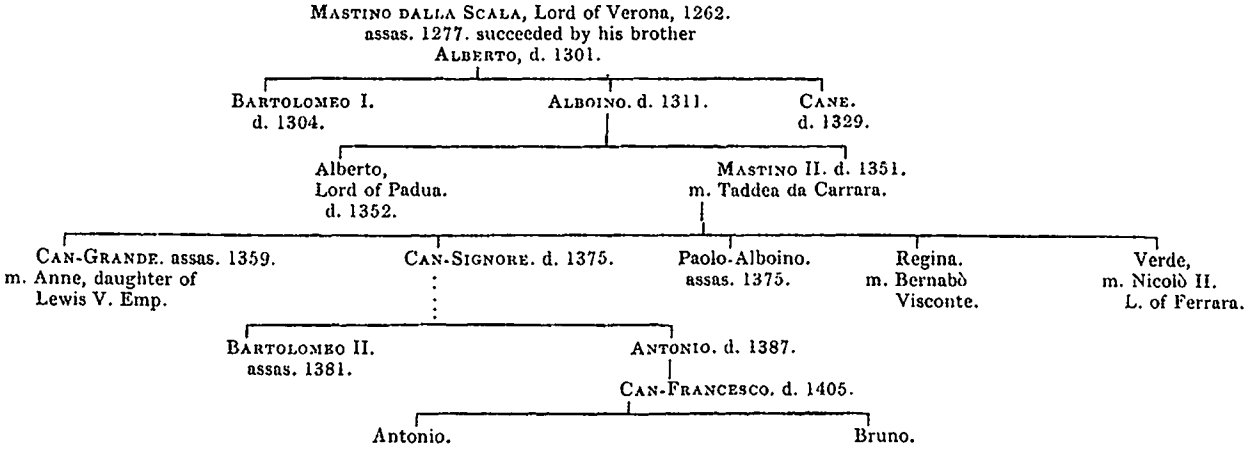


TABLE XL.

THE GONZAGHI, LORDS OF MANTUA.

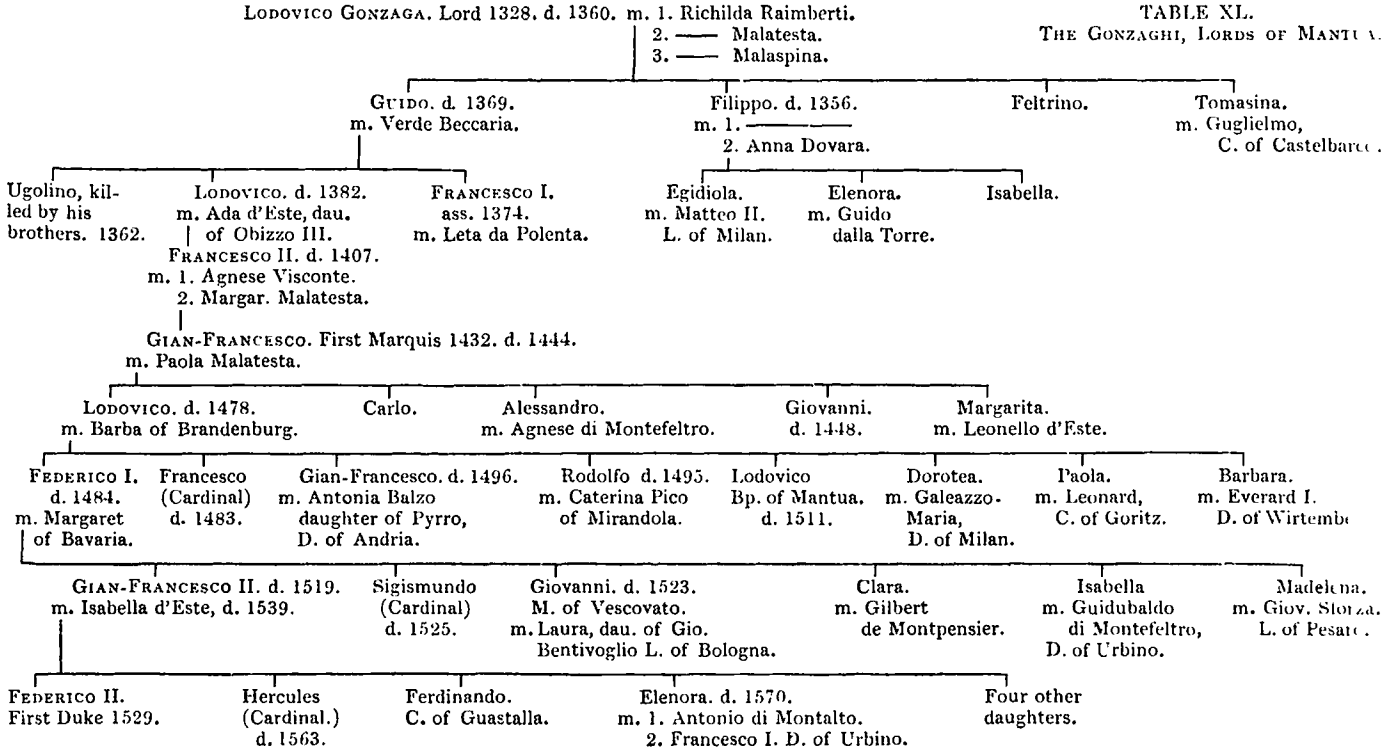
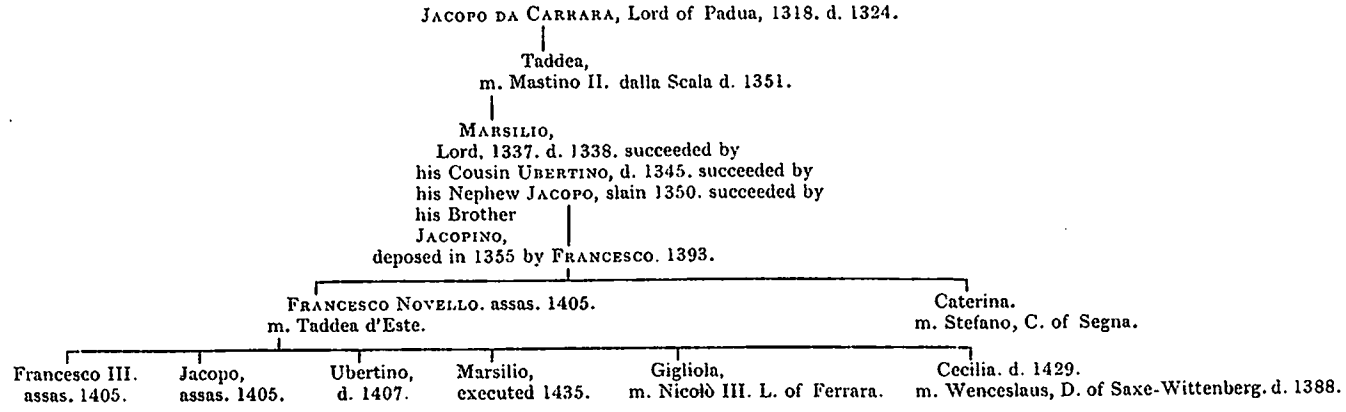


TABLE XLI.
THE CARRARA, LORDS OF PADUA.



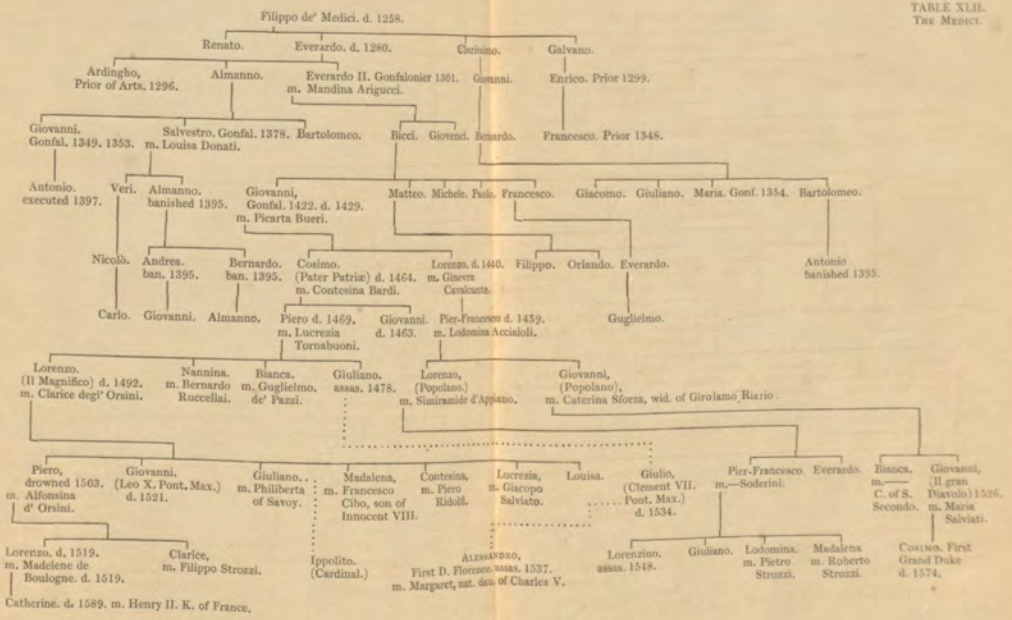

Filippo de' Medici. d. 1258.
Renato.
Everardo. d. 1280.
Carissimo.
Galvano.
Ardinghbo, Prior of Arts. 1296.
Almanno.
Everardo II. Gonfalonier 1301. m. Mandina Arigucci.
Giovanni.
Enrico. Prior 1299.
Giovanni. Gonfal. 1349. 1353.
Salvestro. Gonfal. 1378. m. Louisa Donati.
Bartolomeo.
Bicci.
Giovenci.
Bernardo.
Francesco. Prior 1348.
Antonio. executed 1397.
Veri.
Almanno. banished 1395.
Giovanni, Gonfal. 1422. d. 1429. m. Picarta Bueri.
Matteo.
Michele.
Paolo.
Francesco.
Giacomo.
Giuliano.
Maria.
Gonf. 1354.
Bartolomeo.
Nicolò.
Andrea. ban. 1395.
Bernardo. ban. 1395.
Cosimo. (Pater Patriæ) d. 1464. m. Contesina Bardi.
Lorenzo. d. 1440. m. Ginevra Cavalcante.
Filippo.
Orlando.
Everardo.
Antonio banished 1395.
Carlo.
Giovanni.
Almanno.
Piero d. 1469. m. Lucrezia Tornabuoni.
Giovanni. d. 1463.
Pier-Francesco d. 1459. m. Lodomina Accialoli.
Guglielmo.
Lorenzo. (Il Magnifico) d. 1492. m. Clarice degl' Orsini.
Nannina. m. Bernardo Ruccellai.
Bianca. m. Guglielmo. de' Pazzi.
Giuliano. assas. 1478.
Lorenzo, (Popolano.) m. Simiramide d'Appiano.
Giovanni, (Popolano), m. Caterina Sforza, wid. of Girolamo Riario.
Piero, drowned 1503. m. Alfonsina d' Orsini.
Giovanni. (Leo X. Pont. Max.) d. 1521.
Giuliano. m. Philiberta of Savoy.
Madalena, m. Francesco Cibo, son of Innocent VIII.
Contesina, m. Piero Ridolfi.
Lucrezia, m. Giacopo Salviato.
Louisa.
Giulio, (Clement VII. Pont. Max.) d. 1534.
Pier-Francesco. m.—Soderini.
Everardo.
Bianca. m.— C. of S. Secondo.
Giovanni, (Il gran Diavolo) 1526. m. Maria Salviati.
Lorenzo. d. 1519. m. Madelene de Boulogne. d. 1519.
Clarice, m. Filippo Strozzi.
Ippolito. (Cardinal.)
ALESSANDRO, First D. Florence. assas. 1537. m. Margaret, nat. dau. of Charles V.
Lorenzino. assas. 1548.
Giuliano.
Lodomina. m. Pietro Strozzi.
Madalena m. Roberto Strozzi.
COSIMO. First Grand Duke d. 1574.
Catherine. d. 1589. m. Henry II. K. of France.

TABLE XLIII.
DUKES OF FERRARA.
(SEE TABLE XIII.)

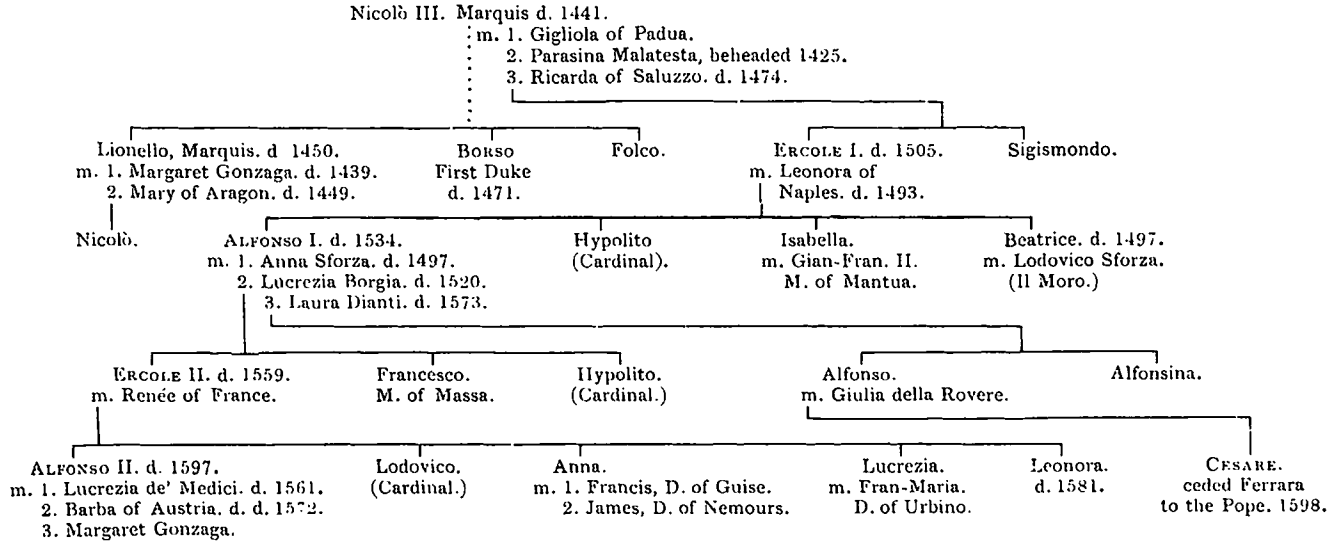
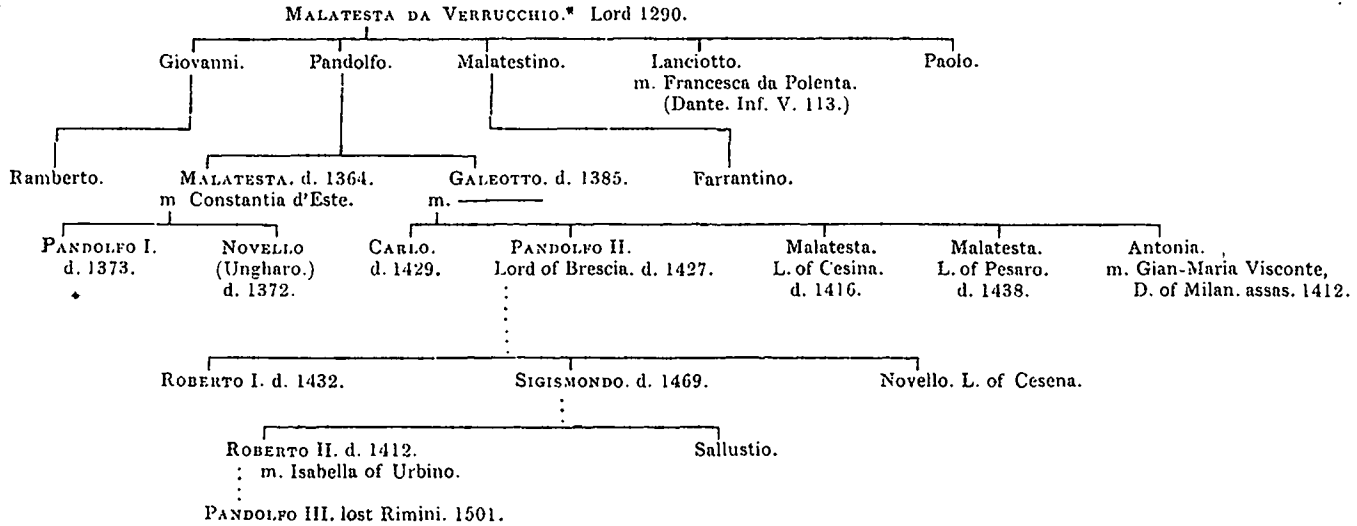


TABLE XLIV.

THE MALATESTI, LORDS OF RIMINI, &c.



* E'l Mastin vecchio, e'l nuovo da Verrucchio,
Che fecer di Montagna il mal governo.
Dante, Inf. XXVII. v. 46.

TABLE XLV.
THE ORDELAFFI, LORDS OF FORLI.

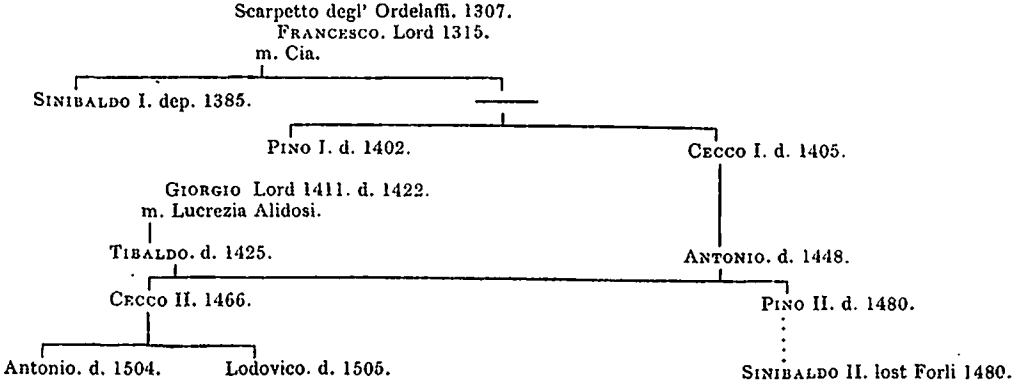


TABLE XLVI.

THE MONTEFELTRI, LORDS AND DUKES OF URBINO.

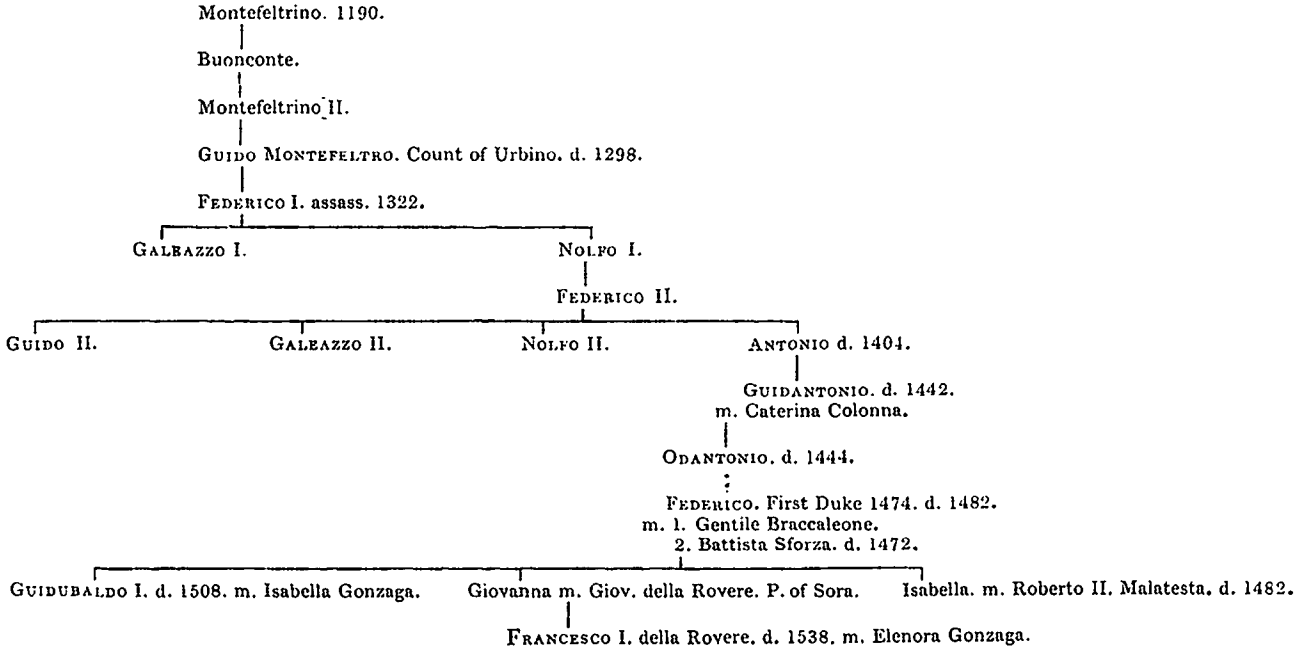


TABLE XLVII.

THE MANFREDI, LORDS OF FAENZA AND IMOLA.

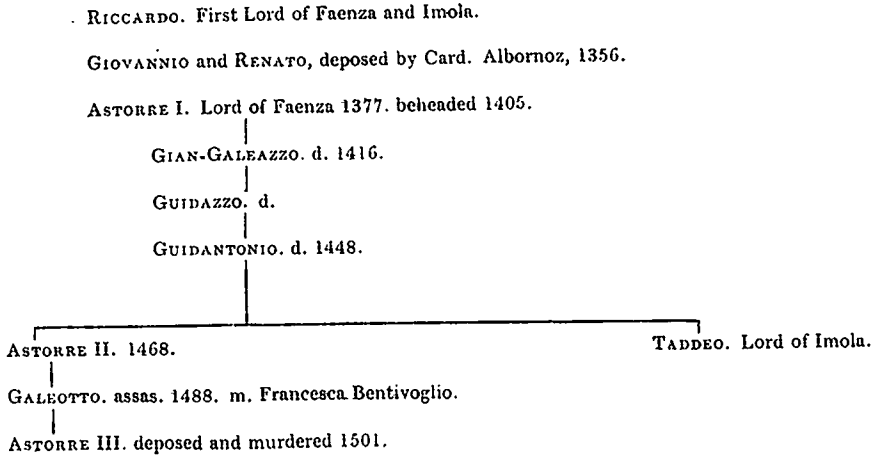
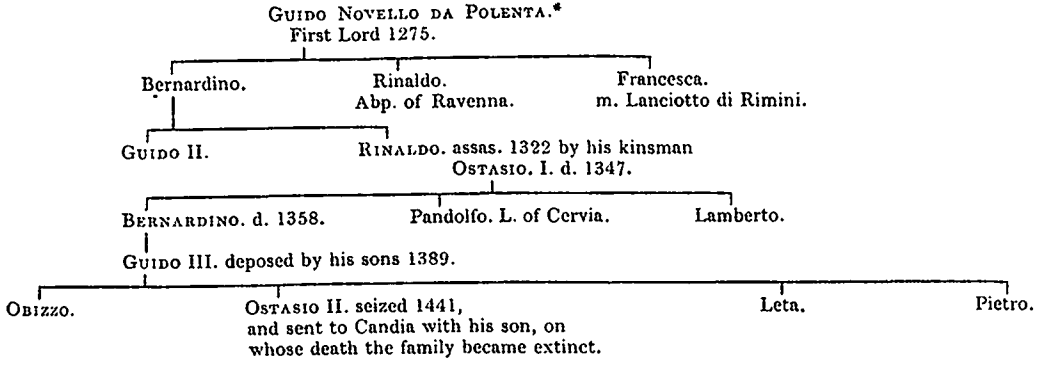

RICCARDO. First Lord of Faenza and Imola.
GIOVANNIO and RENATO, deposed by Card. Albornoz, 1356.
ASTORRE I. Lord of Faenza 1377. beheaded 1405.
GIAN-GALEAZZO. d. 1416.
GUIDAZZO. d.
GUIDANTONIO. d. 1448.
ASTORRE II. 1468.
TADDEO. Lord of Imola.
GALEOTTO. assas. 1488. m. Francesca Bentivoglio.
ASTORRE III. deposed and murdered 1501.

TABLE XLVIII.

THE POLENTA, LORDS OF RAVENNA.



* L' aquila da Polenta la si cova
Si, che Cervia ricuopre co' suoi vanni.
Dante, Inf. XXVII. v. 41.

TABLE XLIX.
SECOND RACE OF ANJEVIN.
(TITULAR) KINGS OF NAPLES.

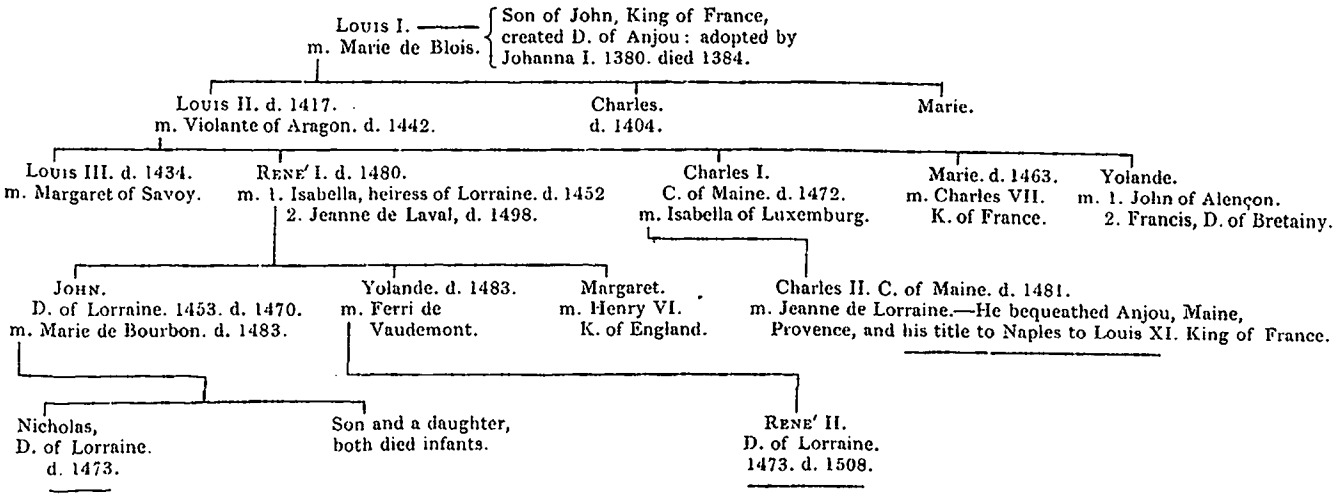

Louis I. — m. Marie de Blois. — Son of John, King of France, created D. of Anjou: adopted by Johanna I. 1380. died 1384.
Louis II. d. 1417. m. Violante of Aragon. d. 1442.
Charles. d. 1404.
Marie.
Louis III. d. 1434. m. Margaret of Savoy.
René I. d. 1480. m. 1. Isabella, heiress of Lorraine. d. 1452 2. Jeanne de Laval, d. 1498.
Charles I. C. of Maine. d. 1472. m. Isabella of Luxemburg.
Marie. d. 1463. m. Charles VII. K. of France.
Yolande. m. 1. John of Alençon. 2. Francis, D. of Bretainy.
John. D. of Lorraine. 1453. d. 1470. m. Marie de Bourbon. d. 1483.
Yolande. d. 1483. m. Ferri de Vaudemont.
Margaret. m. Henry VI. K. of England.
Charles II. C. of Maine. d. 1481. m. Jeanne de Lorraine.—He bequeathed Anjou, Maine, Provence, and his title to Naples to Louis XI. King of France.
Nicholas, D. of Lorraine. d. 1473.
Son and a daughter, both died infants.
René II. D. of Lorraine. 1473. d. 1508.

TABLE I.
ARAGONESE KINGS OF NAPLES.

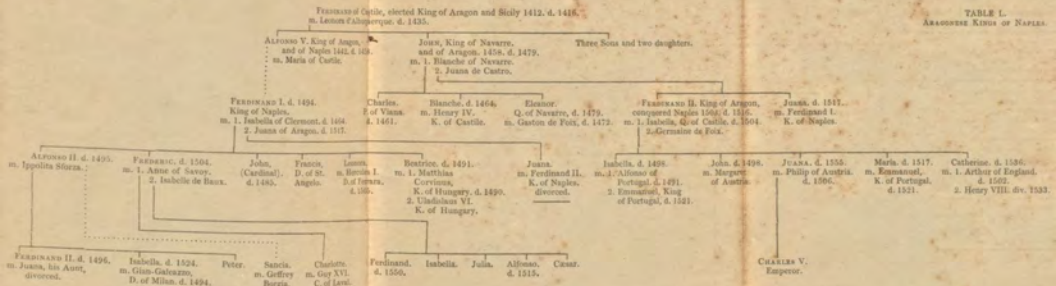
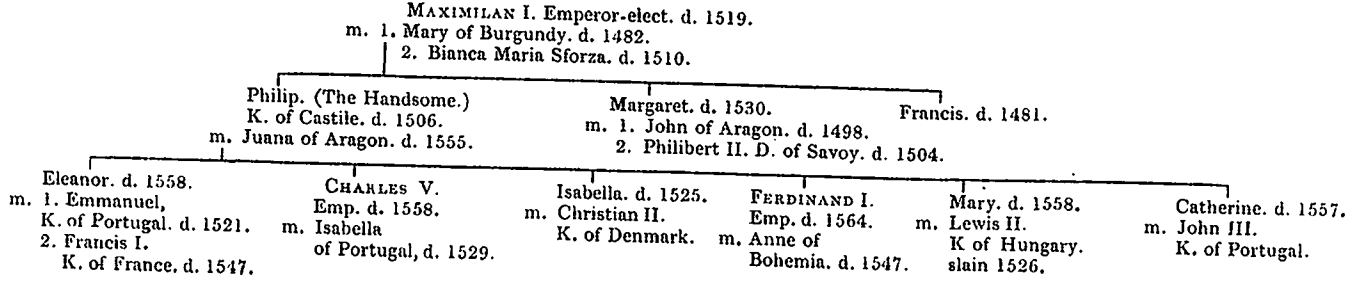
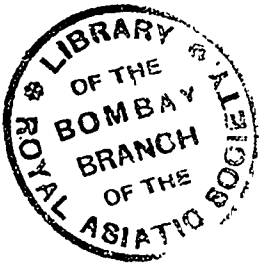

Ferdinand of Castile, elected King of Aragon and Sicily 1412. d. 1416.
m. Leonora d'Alburquerque. d. 1435.
Alfonso V. King of Aragon, and of Naples 1442. d. 1458.
m. Maria of Castile.
John, King of Navarre, and of Aragon. 1458. d. 1479.
m. 1. Blanche of Navarre.
2. Juana de Castro.
Three Sons and two daughters.
Ferdinand I. d. 1494.
King of Naples.
m. 1. Isabella of Clermont. d. 1464.
2. Juana of Aragon. d. 1517.
Charles. Prince of Viana. d. 1461.
Blanche. d. 1464.
m. Henry IV. K. of Castile.
Eleanor. Q. of Navarre, d. 1479.
m. Gaston de Foix, d. 1472.
Ferdinand II. King of Aragon, conquered Naples 1504. d. 1516.
m. 1. Isabella, Q. of Castile, d. 1504.
2. Germaine de Foix.
Juana. d. 1517.
m. Ferdinand I. K. of Naples.
Alfonso II. d. 1495.
m. Ippolita Sforza.
Ferdinc. d. 1504.
m. 1. Anne of Savoy.
2. Isabelle de Baux.
John, (Cardinal). d. 1485.
Francis. D. of St. Angelo.
Louis. m. Renée I. D. of Ferara. d. 1555.
Beatrice. d. 1491.
m. 1. Matthias Corvinus, K. of Hungary. d. 1490.
2. Uladislaus VI. K. of Hungary.
Juana. m. Ferdinand II. K. of Naples. divorced.
Isabella. d. 1498.
m. 1. Alfonso of Portugal. d. 1491.
2. Emmanuel, King of Portugal, d. 1521.
John. d. 1498.
m. Margaret of Austria.
Juana. d. 1555.
m. Philip of Austria. d. 1506.
Maria. d. 1517.
m. Emmanuel, K. of Portugal. d. 1521.
Catherine. d. 1536.
m. 1. Arthur of England. d. 1502.
2. Henry VIII. div. 1533.
Ferdinand II. d. 1496.
m. Joana, his Aunt, divorced.
Isabella. d. 1524.
m. Gian-Galeazzo, D. of Milan. d. 1494.
Peter.
Sancia.
m. Geffrey Borgia.
Charlotte.
m. Guy XVI. C. of Laval.
Ferdinand. d. 1550.
Isabella.
Julia.
Alfonso. d. 1515.
Cæsar.
Charles V. Emperor.

TABLE LI.
FAMILY OF MAXIMILIAN I.



LONDON:

WILLIAM NICOL, SHAKSPEARE PRESS, PALL MALL.



00036997

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 06 February, 2016